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A HISTORY

OF

THE ABYSSINIAN EXPEDITION.

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THE ABYSSINIAN EXPEDITION.

BY

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WITH A CHAPTER CONTAINING

AN ACCOUNT OF THE MISSION AND CAPTIVITY OF MR. RASSAM

AND HIS COMPANIONS,

LIEUTENANT W. F. PRIDEAUX,

BOMBAY STAFF CORPS.

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CONTENTS.

NOTE

PAGE

ON THE SPELLING, ACCENTUATION, AND PRONUNCIATION OF CERTAIN ABYSSINIAN WORDS, TOGETHER WITH SOME ERRATA ix

CHAPTER I.

EARLY ABYSSINIAN HISTORY — THE PORTUGUESE EXPEDITION UNDER CRISTOFORO DA GAMA 1

CHAPTER II.

ABYSSINIA IN THE PRESENT CENTURY — THE EMPEROR THEODORE—IMPRISONMENT OF CONSUL CAMERON 44

CHAPTER III.

THE MISSION AND CAPTIVITY OF MR. RASSAM AND HIS COMPANIONS, BY LIEUTENANT W. F. PRIDEAUX, OF THE BOMBAY STAFF CORPS 90

CHAPTER IV.

PRELIMINARY OPERATIONS OF COLONEL MEREWETHER AND THE ADVANCED BRIGADE 128

CHAPTER V.

COUNTRY FROM SENAFÉ TO ADIGERAT.

PAGE

Physical Geography and Geology—Botany—Birds—Mammalia—Senafé and its Inhabitants—Shumazano—Churches—Cheffa—Baraka—Debra Libanos at Goona-Goona—Adigerat—Palace of Sabagadis—Peasantry 169

CHAPTER VI.

THE MARCH FROM MULKUTTO TO ADIGERAT 203

CHAPTER VII.

DESCRIPTION OF THE REGION BETWEEN ADIGERAT AND THE TAKKAZYÈ.

Harat Range—Plain of Haramât—Dongolo—Agula—Dolo—Haik-hallat—Chelicut—Antâlo—Wadjerât Mountains—Amba Alaji—Atala—Ayba—Ferrah Amba—Dobâ——Makhan—Lake Ashangi—Wofela—Womberat—Lât—Dafat Mountains—Dildi—Abuya-meder Mountains—Wandaj Pass—Sources of the Takkazyè 231

CHAPTER VIII.

THE MARCH FROM ADIGERAT TO THE WADELA PLATEAU . . 255

CHAPTER IX.

Description of the Wadela and Dalanta Plateaux—Topography of Mágdala—Amba Geshen—March of Theodore from Debra Tabor to Mágdala—March of the English across the Plateaux to the Beshilo Ravine 282

CHAPTER X.

Action at Arogyè—Release of the Captives—Fall of Mágdala—Death of the King 314

CHAPTER XI.

PAGE

Description of Mágdala—Burial of Theodore—Arrangements with his Queen and Chiefs—Liberation of the captive Chiefs—Exodus of the King's Followers—Destruction of Mágdala—The Galla Queens—Capture of Mashesha—Aficho Camp—Commencement of the Return March—Work of the Troops in the Rear—Railway—Roads—Indian Cavalry—Conduct of Walda Yasoos—Return March—Death of the Queen—Kâsa—Wakshûm Gobazyé—Death of Mr. Dufton—Arrangements for Embarkation—Conclusion 355

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.—Altitude of Places in Abyssinia, fixed by C. R. Markham, Esq. 395

APPENDIX B.—Meteorological Observations in Abyssinia, by C. R. Markham, Esq. 397

APPENDIX C. — Thermometrical Observations (chiefly at Mágdala), by Dr. Blanc 405

MAPS.

1. Mulkuṭṭo, in Annesley Bay, to Adigerat . . . *To face* 129
2. Adigerat to the river Takkazyè . . . . . „ 231
3. Plan of a ruined Church at Agula . . . . . „ 236
4. Plateaux of Wadela and Dalanta . . . . . „ 283
5. Plan of Mágdala and its Neighbourhood . . . . „ 315

NOTE

ON THE SPELLING, ACCENTUATION, AND PRONUNCIATION OF CERTAIN ABYSSINIAN WORDS,

TOGETHER WITH SOME ERRATA.

In the spelling and accentuation of Abyssinian words, I had originally intended to follow Isenberg closely, but I found that this was not always desirable; for, while a lexicographer may adopt a perfectly uniform value for vowel sounds, it is requisite, in a book for general reading, to endeavour to combine correct spelling with as close an indication as possible of the pronunciation in common use among the people. I have generally adopted the advice of Lieut. Prideaux on all doubtful points, whose opinion, based as it is on extensive reading as well as on careful observation, is always valuable. Mr. Badger has been my guide in the case of Arabic words, and of words of Arabic derivation.

Explanation is necessary as regards some of the names, more especially as, through inadvertence, a few words have been spelt or accentuated differently in the beginning and end of the work. My chief stumbling-block has been in assigning the correct value to the fifth vowel form *Hâmis*, the pronunciation of which varies in different words. In some words it is sounded as a long *ē*, and in others as *yè*.

Many of the names of places were fearfully and wonderfully rendered in the Quartermaster-General's Department, and these barbarisms thus crept into all official papers.

AGAFÂRI should have a circumflex on the penultimate vowel, as at page 110.

AGÂMÉ. This word is accentuated *Agamé* at p. 4, and pp. 50, 55, and also by Isenberg, p. 205. The acute accent on the last vowel, however, most clearly denotes the sound in the mouths of the natives.

ALAMÈ. This name is an instance of the uncertainty in pronouncing the *Hâmis*. According to Isenberg it is *Alamé*, and in the note at p. 14 *Alamyè*. Lieut. Prideaux considers *Alamè* to be the most correct form.

ANTÂLO. At pages 48 to 50, the circumflex on the penultimate vowel has inadvertently been omitted. It is properly *Hĕntsâlo*, and Isenberg (p. 204) has *Hent'alo*. But from the time of Salt downwards it has been spelt *Antalo*, and is familiar to English readers in that form.

AROGYÈ. At p. 108 this word is accentuated *Arogé*. The *yè* is more correct.

BÂREÂI, or perhaps more correctly Bâreâyè, is a common Abyssinian name, meaning "My slave." The name is occasionally written *Bâreahû* (or *Barya-hoo*, as at p. 55), meaning "His slave."

BESHILO. This river is quite as often pronounced with an *a* as an *e*. It is the first vowel form *Geez*. Isenberg (p. 201) has *Bashelo*.

BIRU is a common name, meaning "His silver." It should not be *Birou*, as at pp. 63 and 363.

DÂUNT is better than *Dáunt*, as at pp. 68 and 116. It is a long *a*, and not merely an accentuated one.

GABRIYÈ is the contraction of a Christian baptismal name, compounded of *Gabr*, "slave," as *Gabra Yasûs*, "Slave of Jesus." This is often contracted into *Gabrû*, and maternal affection brings it to *Gabriyè*, "my Gabrû." At p. 50 it is spelt *Gabryé* instead of *Gabriyè*. The latter form is the correct one.

HAGÔS, as at pp. 53-55, is more correct than *Hagûs*.

JITTA is the proper spelling, and not *Jidda*, as in the later chapters. The first letter is pronounced exactly like the French *j*. Isenberg renders it *Zsh*, and only gives one other word as properly beginning with this letter, namely, *Zshan-hoi*, "O King!" This is the word that perpetuated the idea of

the Abyssinian Negûs being the Prester John of Marco Polo. The *Zshan* sounded like Jan or John.

KUÂRA should have a circumflex over the penultimate vowel, as at p. 70.

MÁGDALA. I find that this name is often most incorrectly pronounced by placing the emphasis on the penultimate vowel. In the later chapters I have, therefore, placed an acute accent over the first vowel, to show the correct pronunciation. From pp. 261 to 305 the circumflex, instead of the acute accent, has incorrectly been placed over the first *a* in Mágdala. The name is not derived from *Migdol*, nor from any Semitic root, but from two Galla words, the first of which signifies a gate. Probably it is the same root as is met with in *Makdan* and *Makhan*, the names of two stations on the line of march. The correct spelling is *Mákdala*, but the wrong form has now become universal. My authorities for placing the accent on the first syllable are not only M. Munzinger, Dadjatsh Alamè, and all the natives whom I heard pronounce the word, but also Mr. Rassam, Dr. Blanc, and Lieut. Prideaux. *They, if any one, must know the correct pronunciation.*

MAIYEN. The name of a station where wells were dug, in the Senafé pass. It is apparently only plural for *mai*, and means "the waters." The place is wrongly called *Undel* in official documents, and this correction is the more necessary because there is a torrent-bed called *Undel*, some distance further up the pass.

MULKUTTO. The name of the place where the expeditionary force landed, and where the camp was formed on the shores of Annesley Bay. If I remember aright, M. Munzinger considers Mulkutto to be a Shoho form of the Arabic *Málkat*, a place of meeting, or a place of throwing anything over, *e.g.* disembarkation—a most appropriate name for the port of the Abyssinian Expedition. In official documents the place is wrongly called *Zoola* or *Zoulla* or *Zulla*. It is to be hoped that this blunder will not be persisted in, because it will cause confusion; as Zulla is a large Shoho village some miles from Mulkutto, near the ruins of ancient Adulis, but on the south side of the Hadas.

RAHA-GUDDY. A station in the Senafé pass, near the foot of the ascent to the highlands. In official documents it is spelt *Rayrayguddy*, *Rarayuddy*, and in other strange ways. I carefully ascertained the correct form from head men of the Gaso Shohos.

TAKKAZYÈ. This river is spelt *Taccazé* by Isenberg, who uses the *é* instead of the *yè*. The latter is more correct. The emphasis is on the first syllable, so far as I could catch the native pronunciation. At p. 10 (*note*) and pp. 25, 41, and 53, the word is spelt *Tákkazie*, which is not so correct. In Ethiopic the word means "river" *par excellence*, for which reason the largest river in Ethiopia is so called.

UNDEL. The name of a torrent-bed debouching on the Senafé pass, and dividing the territory of the Gaso from that of the Hasarota Shohos. The blunder of giving this name to the Maiyen wells, if not abandoned, will cause confusion.

WAKSHÛM, or Governor of Wag (incorrectly spelt *Waag* by Dr. Beke). At p. 11 (*note*) and p. 50 it is spelt *Wagshum*, but in all other places *Wakshûm*. It is true that in Amharic the word is spelt *Wagshum*, but in pronunciation a *g* before a sibilant is sounded rather as a *k*, and I have therefore written it so in English, so as to convey the correct pronunciation. In the same way the Tigré town *Digsha* is written *Dixan* (short for *Dikshan*) both by Bruce and Salt.

WARKÉ, not *Warkê*, as at p. 165, and as Isenberg has it. In Godjam, where they speak the most correct Amharic, it would be *Warkyè*.

YASENDYÈ, a village in Wadela, meaning literally "Of the wheat," *ya* being a sign of the genitive case. Madame Waldmeier said that the more correct form was *Sindyanâ*.

YASÛS. It is so spelt at pp. 14 (*note*), 46, and 47, but afterwards *Yasoos*. The first is preferable.

A HISTORY

OF

THE ABYSSINIAN EXPEDITION.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY ABYSSINIAN HISTORY — THE PORTUGUESE EXPEDITION UNDER CRISTOFORO DA GAMA.

THE march of an English army for several hundred miles into the heart of Abyssinia—a march which was looked upon as hazardous and almost impossible by the guides of public opinion, and which passed over a country so little known as actually to involve geographical discovery—was highly calculated to attract the attention and interest the imagination of Europe. There was something in it that recalled the exploits of that heroic age when dawning science enabled men, who were still actuated by the spirit of knight-errantry, to achieve apparent impossibilities. The object of the expedition was absolutely just, and was free from the

conflicting motives of self-interest which almost invariably give rise to modern wars; while the work to be done was as clearly defined as it was apparently difficult of execution. The history of the country which was to be the scene of this noble enterprise—the land of Prester John, the one Christian nation of Africa, the region of the fertilizing fountains of the Nile, the field of the exploits of one of England's most popular travellers—added a charm of romantic interest to the expedition.

In order that the main features of Abyssinian history may be fresh in the reader's mind, it will be well to glance rapidly at its principal landmarks while dwelling in more detail on the one previous European expedition which penetrated into the country. Such a retrospect is necessary as an introduction to the narrative of the English expedition into Abyssinia, and without it the story would be incomplete and occasionally confusing.

The elevated African region, forming a series of lofty mountain chains, healthy plateaux, and deep valleys, which has been known to Europe for the last four centuries as the Christian empire of Abyssinia, appears to have been peopled by a warlike race allied to the Arabs, with a Semitic language possessing an alphabet and literature, and with traditions and customs which point to intercourse with the Jewish nation at some very remote period. The word *Hábsh* means

mixture or confusion, in Arabic; and there seems to be little doubt that the present Abyssinian people were not the first inhabitants, and that the peculiar race of Agows, now occupying isolated mountainous tracts in various parts of the country, as well as the black Shankelas in the lower lands, were before them. Hence the *Hábsh*,[1] or mixture of races, and the very great variety of feature and colour which is met with in Abyssinia.

The Abyssinians have a book of kings, professing to record the names of their rulers from the time of the Queen of Sheba and her son Menilek, who brought the ark of the covenant from Jerusalem and deposited it in Axum. But no event recorded in this book can be accepted as historical unless it is corroborated from other independent sources. The first landmarks in Abyssinian history are comprised in the few facts that have been gathered from two inscriptions, one of which proves that this great mountain knot of Africa was well known to the Egyptian Ptolemies.

The earliest inscription was copied and recorded by a trustworthy Alexandrian merchant in the sixth century, and from it we learn how Ptolemy Euergetes, the third of the Greek dynasty in Egypt, trained a brigade of African elephants, invaded the countries on both sides of the Red Sea, and led an expedition into the heart of Abyssinia. He seems to have reduced

[1] In the gentilic form, *Hábashy*, an Abyssinian.

most of the provinces of Tigré to subjection, including Semyen, Agamê, Angot, and the country of the Agows, and to have obliged the people to pay him tribute. The enterprising Grecian then returned to his base of operations at Adulis—the very spot which was long afterwards selected for the same use by the English—and sacrificed to Jupiter, Mars, and Neptune. At this port, also, he reunited all his forces, and, sitting on the throne which bore the inscription, he consecrated it to Mars in the twenty-seventh year of his reign. The port of Adulis continued, for several centuries, to be the gate of Abyssinia, which kept open communication between the highlanders and the civilized world. To this opening they owe all the advance they ever made in civilization, and their barbarism in modern times is due to the isolation caused by its destruction.

The second inscription is on the famous obelisk at Axum, and has been seen and copied by most modern travellers. It tells how Aeizanas, king of Axum and of the Ethiopians, conquered the people of Bogos, and how he returned thanks to his father, the god Mars, for his victory. This invocation to the very god to whom Ptolemy Euergetes offered up his sacrifice at Adulis, goes some way to prove that the king of the Axum obelisk was brought up under Grecian auspices, and shows how close was the connexion between Egypt and Abyssinia at that remote period. Aeizanas, indeed, was probably the king who received letters from the

Emperor Constantius, and was afterwards converted to Christianity by Frumentius. We shall see presently that the pioneers of the English expedition followed, to some extent, in the footsteps of the adventurous soldiers of Ptolemy, and met with a few faint traces of this old-world enterprise.

The next reliable fact in Abyssinian history is the conversion to Christianity. It is related that an old philosopher of Tyre made a voyage down the Red Sea to India and back, with the object of adding to his knowledge, and that he was accompanied by two little students, his nephews, named Frumentius and Edesius. On his way back his vessel anchored in one of the roadsteads on the forbidding coast which intervenes between the Abyssinian mountains and the sea, and the wild inhabitants attacked the strange ship and killed all on board. The little boys happened to have gone on shore at the time to learn their lessons, and their lives were spared. Frumentius eventually became a trusted adviser of the Abyssinian King, to whose court he was sent. After some years he was allowed to depart, and, proceeding to Alexandria, he described the country and people to Athanasius, who was then flourishing. The great patriarch resolved to consecrate Frumentius himself, and to send him as the first bishop to convert Abyssinia. The mission was most successful: Frumentius received the name of Abûna Salâmah (Our Father of Peace) from his new

flock, and thus was established one of the most ancient Christian Churches in the world, in about 320 A.D. During, and immediately after the days of Frumentius, copies of most of the canonical and apocryphal Scriptures, and of the early fathers, were brought from Alexandria into Abyssinia from time to time, and translated into the Geez or old Ethiopic language. Indeed the new religion in Abyssinia took its tone from the religion which was in fashion in Egypt, and when monachism began to spread over the Thebaid, the same institution found its way into the mountains whose mud-bearing streams fertilize the valley of the Nile.

A great company of monks appears to have entered Abyssinia between the years A.D. 470 and 480; and eight of the most famous received names from the people of the country, and are venerated at the present day. These were Aragâwé (the old man), who fixed his abode on the natural stronghold of Debra Damo; Pantaleon, whose cell was on a rock near Adowa; Garîma, after whom the fantastic mountain peaks of Adowa are named; Alêf, Sahâm, Atsfê, Likanos, Imata, and Gobba. They were all of the order of St. Anthony, and Aragâwé is said to have received the habit from St. Pachomius, who had his from St. Macarius, who was a disciple of St. Anthony himself. These monks left their mark on Abyssinian history; the monasteries, which they

and their followers founded, were the means of preserving the literature, such as it was, which had been brought from Alexandria; and monachism is to this day a feature in Abyssinian life which has had its influence on the course of events.

The next landmark is the most important of all, because, like the era of Asoka in Indian history, it fixes a date with almost absolute certainty. Abyssinian, Greek, and Muhammedan testimony unite to prove the historical truth of the invasion of Arabia by the Abyssinian King Caleb; and their evidence is again corroborated by the Alexandrian merchant Cosmas, who was trading on the coast just before the invasion took place. The work of Cosmas Indicopleustes is an example of the great practical value of crochets. As the search for the philosopher's stone was the foundation of modern chemistry, and as the quest for El Dorado led to the discovery of half South America; so the attempt to prove that the world was a rectangular plane induced crochety old Cosmas to record many of the varied experiences of an adventurous life, and thus happily to preserve historical and geographical facts which would otherwise have been lost. He tells us that he was at Adûlè, the port of Abyssinia, in the beginning of the reign of the Emperor Justin, at the time when Elesbaas,[1] King of the Axumites, was preparing for his Arabian expedition.

[1] By the Ethiopians he was styled Caleb or Amda.

In the year 520 A.D., when Cosmas was trading in the Red Sea, Adûlè was still a flourishing port ruled by a governor named Asbas, appointed by the King of Abyssinia. Cosmas describes it as the port of communication between Axum and Alexandria. He adds that in his day the town was two miles from the sea-shore, and that, on its western side, there was still remaining a throne of white marble which had been erected by one of the Ptolemies. When Elesbaas (or Caleb), the King of Abyssinia, was about to invade Arabia, he wrote to the governor of Adûlè, directing him to have a copy taken of the Greek inscription on this throne, and to send it to him. Cosmas was employed to make the copy; and he kept another, which is preserved in the "Topographia," and which furnishes us with all we shall ever know touching the invasion of Abyssinia by Ptolemy and his Greco-Egyptians.

The conquest of Yaman, by King Caleb, is the best authenticated fact in early Abyssinian history. The king of the Homerites, or Himyarites, of Yaman, appears to have been converted to the Jewish religion, and to have persecuted the Christian Arabs, especially at a place called Najrân, where many were killed. At the request of the Emperor Justinian, the Christian King of Abyssinia undertook to avenge these martyrs. He collected an army and a fleet of dhows at Adûlè in 522 A.D., crossed the

Red Sea, and conquered Yaman, which remained subject to Abyssinia for sixty-seven years. The alliance between the Roman Emperor and the Abyssinian King was cemented by a mission, and the ambassador Nonnosus has recorded his interview with the sovereign of Ethiopia at Axum, who was seated in a chariot drawn by four elephants. Abrâhah, the last Abyssinian ruler of Yaman, was defeated before the gates of Mecca, and the African invaders were finally expelled from Asia in about 590 A.D. The historian Gibbon remarks upon this event that, "if a Christian power had been maintained in Arabia, Mahomet must have been crushed in his cradle, and Abyssinia would have prevented a revolution which has changed the civil and religious state of the world."[1] That revolution was a crushing disaster to Abyssinia. The age of Caleb was the most flourishing period in the annals of the Christian people of Africa. They had conquered the richest part of Arabia; their trading vessels not only navigated the Red Sea, but frequented the ports of India and Ceylon; constant communication was kept up with the civilized Greek

[1] An interesting account of the Abyssinian invasion of Yaman, chiefly from Arab sources, will be found in M. Caussin de Perceval's *Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme, &c.*, Paris, 1847. A translation of the first two books, with occasional notes, was made by the Rev. George Percy Badger, and published in the *Bombay Quarterly Magazine and Review*, for 1852-3. See also Dr. Vincent's "Periplus of the Erythræan Sea;" and a brief allusion in Gibbon's "Decline and Fall."

empire; and the literature and some of the arts of Alexandria were introduced into the churches and monasteries of Ethiopia. But the conquest of Egypt by the Muhammedans checked and almost destroyed this civilizing influence, although the Abyssinians ever continued loyal to the Christian Patriarch in Alexandria or Cairo. The subsequent increasing barbarism of Abyssinia is due to the isolation brought about by the power of Muhammedan enemies, who surrounded the little Christian community on every side.

The most famous episode in the strictly native annals of the country exemplifies the strong sense which the wisest and most far-seeing among the Abyssinians had of the ruinous consequences of this isolation.

It is related that in about 960 A.D. the ancient dynasty was displaced, and that a usurping line of sovereigns reigned from that date until 1300 A.D. One of them, named Lalibela, was famous for having excavated several rock-hewn churches,[1] and for having attempted to destroy the fertility of Egypt by turning the waters of the Atbara, its main mud-bearing

[1] The rock-hewn churches built by Lalibela were ten in number, dedicated to St. Emanuel, St. Saviour, St. Mary, the Holy Cross, Golgotha, St. George, Bethlehem, St. Mercurius, The Holy Martyrs, and Lalibela. Plans of Golgotha, St. Saviour's, St. Mary, St. Emanuel, and St. George are given in Ramusio. King Lalibela himself was buried in the Golgotha church. They are all at Lalibela, the capital of Lasta, near the Tákkazie river, and within eight miles of the line of march of the English troops.

affluent, into the Mareb.[1] This dynasty was known as that of Zaguê, and its last reigning prince, a grandson of Lalibela, was named Naakweto Laab. At that time there flourished in Abyssinia a man who was as famous for the holiness of his life as for his patriotism and the wonderful power he obtained over others. This was Tekla Haimanot,[2] the greatest of Abyssinian saints, the founder of the rich monastery of Debra Libanos. The ancient dynasty had meanwhile continued to reign in Shoa, the southernmost province of Abyssinia; and Tekla Haimanot succeeded in negotiating a most extraordinary treaty between Naakweto Laab, the reigning Abyssinian sovereign of the usurping dynasty of Zaguê, and Yekweno Amlak,[3] the representative of the ancient but dethroned family. By the first article, Naakweto Laab voluntarily agreed to abdicate in favour of Yekweno Amlak. By the second, a portion of the mountainous province of Lasta, called Wag, was granted to Naakweto Laab and his descendants for ever, with the right of sitting on the same kind of chair as that used by the sovereign.[4] By the third article, one third of the kingdom was granted to the

[1] Dr. Beke has written upon the same subject. See his "Sources of the Nile," 1860.

[2] Literally "Plant of the faith." It is now a very common name in Abyssinia.

[3] This name signifies, in Geez, "Let him become the Lord."

[4] Thus the descendants of Naakweto Laab became *Wag-shûms*, or governors, of Wag, and Dr. Beke tells us (in his valuable paper in the

clergy; and by the fourth, it was provided that no native Abyssinian should hereafter be chosen *Abûna* or Bishop, but that the head of the Abyssinian Church should always be sent from Egypt by the Coptic Patriarch. It is this last article of the Treaty that is specially deserving of attention. Instead of that jealousy of foreigners so common among all nations, we find the great Abyssinian statesman providing that none but foreigners should ever fill the highest ecclesiastical post in the country. It shows that the isolation caused by Muhammedan encroachment was already deeply felt; and this unusual self-denial on the part of the Abyssinians was evidently intended to secure the benefit of intercourse with civilization, which the periodical arrival of a foreign Abûna from Egypt would to some extent ensure. Originally

Royal Geographical Society's Journal for 1844, vol. xiv.), that the saying in Wag was:—

"Wagshûm la wanbar
Negûs la manbar."

"The Wagshûm to the *wanbar*
The King to the *manbar*."

The two words being synonymous, and meaning chair or throne. Bruce says that this treaty between the House of Zaguê and the ancient dynasty was never broken for 500 years. In a paper, published in *Macmillan's Magazine*, I wrote from Senafé that, judging from the information obtained from persons with whom I had conversed, there was no foundation for Dr. Beke's statement that the Wagshûm was descended from the house of Zaguê. I should have said that there appeared to be no foundation for the tradition mentioned by Dr. Beke, as there is a want of courtesy in the expression as it stands, which I very much regret. Moreover, I now see reason to think that the tradition in question is at least based on historical fact.

orthodox, the Abyssinians necessarily followed their mother-church in Egypt when she became schismatic, seeing that the Coptic Patriarch filled up the vacant Abûna's chair. But the difficulty of communication, when the followers of Muhammed occupied all the roads, was very great, and intercourse was sometimes wholly interrupted for nearly a hundred years at a time. "Encompassed," says Gibbon, "by the enemies of their religion, the Æthiopians slept for near a thousand years, forgetful of the world by whom they were forgotten."

The Portuguese woke the Abyssinian highlanders from their long sleep of isolation. As soon as the aspirations of Prince Henry had been fulfilled by the discovery of the Cape in 1487, King John II. saw the importance of collecting information in the East with reference to the possibility of turning the rich trade of the Indies into the new channel; and he was also anxious to discover the dominions of the Christian ruler named Prester John, who had been reported by the Venetian Marco Polo to reign in the far East. Two Portuguese, named Alfonso de Payva and Pedro de Covilham, were selected for this service. After a long journey through the East, Payva died at Cairo; but Covilham, having heard that a Christian ruler reigned in the mountains of Ethiopia, and having gained no tidings of any other Christian king during all his wanderings, naturally concluded that the

Ethiopian potentate was he for whom he had so long sought in vain. So, in pursuance of his instructions, and undeterred by the dangers of the journey, he penetrated into Abyssinia, and presented himself at the court of the King or Negûs, which was then in the southern province of Shoa, in the year 1490. He delivered the letter which was addressed by the King of Portugal to Prester John, to the Negûs Alexander, the sovereign of Abyssinia who represented the ancient family restored under the provisions of the treaty negotiated by Tekla Haimanot. But he was detained by this prince and his successors, and was never allowed to leave the country. Covilham, as a young man, had distinguished himself both in the war with Spain and in Morocco, and was an officer of capacity and great courage. He married in Abyssinia, obtained influence at Court, and survived for many years; for he was still living when the Portuguese embassy arrived in 1520. It is matter for regret that there should be no work by a man who must have acquired so intimate a knowledge of the country and people.

In 1507 Labna Dengel (Virgin's Incense,)[1] or

[1] In Abyssinia a child generally receives a name of endearment from its mother, such as *Warkyê* (My Gold), *Negûsyê* (My King), *'Alamyé* (My World), *Oolyê* (My Beauty), *Desta* (*Amh.*), or *Hagûs* (*Tigr.*), Joy, *Kâsâi* (My Substitute, given to the second child when the firstborn has died). At its baptism a child receives a Christian name, as *Walda Yasûs* (Son of Jesus), *Gabra Mikhâël* (Slave of St. Michael); or as *Haila Mariam* (The Power of Mary), *Tekla Gorgîs* (The Plant of St. George), *Tesfa Tsion* (The Hope of

David, ascended the throne of Abyssinia with the title of Wanâg Segged (Precious Gem). He was very young, and his grandmother Helena assumed the regency. Hearing of the great power of the King of Portugal from Covilham, the Regent sent an Armenian, named Matthew, with a letter from the Negûs David to King Emanuel, who was well received at Lisbon; and a return embassy was despatched under Duarte Galvano, a distinguished but aged diplomatist, who died on the voyage. But the advisability of opening a communication with Abyssinia was not lost sight of by the Portuguese Viceroy in India, and the death of Galvano only delayed the despatch of an embassy.

In April 1520 the Portuguese Viceroy led a fleet into the Red Sea to attack the Turks, taking Matthew, the Armenian, with him. He anchored off the island of Massowa;[1] for by this time the ancient

Zion), *Kidâna Mariam* (Covenant of Mary, alluding to the Covenant of Mercy, which, according to Abyssinian theology, the Virgin is supposed to have made with the Creator at the beginning of the world). Sometimes a man is known in after life by his Christian name, but more generally by the endearing name given by his mother. *Labna Dengel*, or *Etâna Dengel* (The Storax or Frankincense of the Virgin), was the baptismal name of the sovereign mentioned in the text; *David* was assumed by him at his accession, and *Wanâg Segged* some years afterwards. In addition to these the Abyssinians are often called by the name of their favourite horse, with the prefix of *Abba* (Father). *Kâsa*, the present ruler of Tigré, is *Abba Buzbuz*.

[1] Several of the old European travellers wrote this name "Masua," which is nearer the correct form (*Masâwwa'*) than that now in vogue. M. Munzinger writes it "Massua." He says that it was originally *Medsaú'a*, and that the word is probably derived from the Geez verb *dsaú'a* (to call). The distance from the mainland to the island was called a *Medsaú'a*, which means as far as a man can hear a call.

port of Adulis, which had for many centuries been the gate of Abyssinia, had been abandoned for the far less convenient anchorage to the northward. Here the Viceroy had interviews with the *Bahar-Nagâsh* (Lord of the Sea), the Abyssinian governor of the coast provinces, and with some monks from the convent of Bisan, in the adjacent mountains. This intercourse led the Viceroy to decide upon sending an embassy to the Negûs of Abyssinia. The leading members of the mission were Dom Rodriguez de Lima, a haughty, quick-tempered young officer; Father Francisco Alvarez, a priest whose quaint narrative is the earliest and not the least interesting account we possess of the Abyssinians; and Joao Bermudez, the secretary, a bold and intriguing man, who was much mixed up with the subsequent history of the country.

The Portuguese embassy was well-received by the Bahar-Nâgash, and went first to the monastery of Bisan, or "The Vision,"[1] on the seaward slope of the Taranta Mountains.

After a long sojourn, during which the Armenian Matthew died, the Portuguese advanced to the town of Barua, or Debaroa (Dobarwa), on the eastern bank of the river Mareb, which was then the capital of the province ruled over by the Bahar-Nagâsh. The Mareb separates this province from Tigré. The route

[1] According to Ponchet. Bruce says that this word means water.

of the Portuguese embassy seems to be nearly the same as that of Kiaquor, which Dr. Beke describes as a gradual and easy road, well-watered, and occupying two days and a half to ascend from the coast plain to the Abyssinian table-land. Father Alvarez, however, gives a terrible account of the road, and adds that he saw "many savage and cruel beasts at noon-dayes, passing this way and that way, without being any whit afraid of us." After leaving Debaroa and Axum, the embassy followed very nearly the same route as was taken by the English expedition; and it will be very interesting, hereafter, in describing the advance of the liberating force, to identify some of the stations on the line of march, with those described by old Alvarez. The embassy joined the Court of the Negûs on the northern frontier of Shoa, and was detained for nearly six years in Abyssinia. At length, in 1526, Dom Rodriguez de Lima and his suite were dismissed with a letter to the King of Portugal, and accompanied by a learned Abyssinian named Zaga-Za-ab.[1] But Bermudez, the secretary and physician, was detained by the Negûs.[2]

[1] Zaga or Tsaga Za-ab, signifies "The grace of the Father."

[2] The narrative of Father Alvarez forms a folio volume, which was published at Lisbon in 1540, and there is a copy in the British Museum. Ramusio gives an Italian version, and a French one was printed at Antwerp in 1558. The indefatigable Hakluyt obtained an English translation, which is one of the quaintest and most pleasant bits of reading in the "Pilgrims of Purchas." Two Spanish versions were published at Antwerp in 1557 and 1558, and a folio German translation by Joachim Heller appeared in 1566.

Soon after the departure of the Portuguese embassy, a series of formidable invasions commenced from the south. Armies of Muhammedans inhabiting the low country of Adel, or of the Dankali,[1] between the mountains and the sea-coast, kept pouring into Abyssinia, and although frequently defeated, their incursions did not cease. Between 1528 and 1540, these invaders, led by their renowned general Muhammed Gragn,[2] overran the whole table-land of Abyssinia, and the Negûs David was obliged to seek refuge on the almost inaccessible mountain of Debra Damo in Tigré, where he died in the latter year. His widow then assumed the regency, while his son and successor Claudius, who took the name of Atsnaf Segged on his accession, then only eighteen, had taken refuge in a fastness of Shoa. In this deplorable state of affairs, David had resolved to seek aid from the Portuguese, and, the better to secure their support, he professed the Romish faith. The adventurer Bermudez, whom he had detained at his court, was ordained by the Abyssinian Bishop, or Abûna Mark, and nominated as his successor. He was then sent, first to Rome for confirmation from Pope Paul III., where he arrived in 1538, and thence to Lisbon to request military assistance for his adopted master, the Negûs David, from the King of Portugal.

[1] The Adels are so called from the chief tribe of the Danakil-Ad-'Ali.

[2] The left-handed.

The Portuguese were invited to interfere actively in the affairs of Abyssinia, and the prospect of thus carving out an empire was assuredly most tempting. Here was a Christian people, persecuted and well-nigh overwhelmed by the followers of the false prophet, crying to their co-religionists to save them. Here was the famed kingdom of Prester John waiting for Portuguese assistance; a country rich in minerals and in flocks and herds; a mountain land, within the tropics, possessing a healthful temperate climate, and holding within its valleys the lakes and enriching affluents of the Nile; a lofty region which was believed then, as it is known now to be, if in good hands, the key to equatorial Africa. The King of Portugal did not hesitate, and Bermudez was despatched to Goa with orders to the Viceroy to send an expedition to succour the Negûs of Abyssinia.

In 1541 the Portuguese Viceroy of India, Dom Estevan da Gama, entered the Red Sea and anchored at Massowa, where the small expeditionary force was landed. This was the first time that a European armed force invaded Abyssinia, and its operations possess a peculiar interest now that the second European force that ever entered that country has just concluded its operations. The circumstances of the two expeditions were not altogether dissimilar. Both came to a friendly country to put an end to the oppression of a tyrant; but otherwise the comparison,

as regards the difficulty of the enterprise and the means of achieving it, is all on the side of the Portuguese. Muhammed Gragn was in the height of his power, while Theodore was fallen and a fugitive, with only one stronghold that he could call his own; and the English had a vast transport train and inexhaustible supplies of money and provisions, while the Portuguese had neither means of carriage nor much to carry. Truth obliges us to confess that the work cut out for the handful of brave men from the little hero nation represents an achievement which no sane commander in these days would think of attempting. This is the age for crushing a mosquito with a steam hammer, and boiling an egg with a ten horse-power engine.

The Portuguese Viceroy gave the command of the expedition to his brother, Dom Cristoforo da Gama, a brave and enterprising officer, and a worthy grandson of the great discoverer of the Cape; but hasty, impetuous, and deficient in coolness and forethought. He was accompanied by the Patriarch Bermudez, and the force consisted of 450 Portuguese musketeers, and six small field pieces. The expedition started from Massowa on July 9th, 1541, and, marching across the scorching plain, halted at some brackish wells till the afternoon of the next day, on account of the intense heat. They continued the march for six days, suffering terribly from the frightful heat, the want of

water, and the difficulty of carriage; for they only had a few camels and mules, which dragged the field guns. At many places where the ground was rocky, the camels became useless, and the men had to carry the loads on their own backs. Cristoforo da Gama, like a true captain, was ever the first to take his share of such work, which, although almost intolerable to the men, was thus made to appear lighter. At the end of seven days the little band of heroes arrived at so steep a mountain that it took them the whole day to reach the summit. Here the Portuguese rested, with the pleasant view of the Abyssinian highlands spread out before them, and refreshed by the cool breezes and delicious springs of water. They stopped a few days at a church which had been ruined by the Moors; and here they were met by their Abyssinian allies, who welcomed them as deliverers, and furnished them with provisions and assistance. Da Gama took the same route, in ascending from the coast, as had been followed by the embassy of Rodriguez de Lima, and reached Debaroa, where he united his forces with those of the Bahar-Nagâsh. He then sent a small detachment, under the command of two young officers, named Manuel de Acunha and Francisco Bello, to announce his arrival to the Queen-mother, who had remained on the inaccessible stronghold of Debra Damo, since the death of the Negûs. The sides of this famous mountain are perfectly perpendicular; so

that the officers had to be hoisted up in baskets, by means of ropes, before they could deliver their message, which when the besieged Queen had heard, she rejoiced greatly, and set out to return with them to their commander. Da Gama came out to meet her, dressed in a doublet and hose of mulberry velvet and cloth of gold, a crimson French cloak, and a black cap with a gold medal on it. His officers were also clad in their bravest attire, and the Bahar-Nagâsh wore lion skins over his shoulders. The Queen thanked them warmly for coming to her aid, and soon afterwards letters arrived from the young Negûs Claudius reiterating the thanks of his mother.

For some time Da Gama and his soldiers were busily employed in making waggons for his guns, and they had to saw and dress all the wood, for the Abyssinians knew nothing of such work. The Portuguese commander also occupied his time, during the rains, in collecting mules and provisions, and making preparations for the campaign. Muhammed Gragn was at that time in possession of the whole of Abyssinia, the scattered adherents of the Christian Negûs having been driven to take refuge on Debra Damo, and other inaccessible strongholds. In December, 1541, the Portuguese force marched from Debaroa, accompanied by the Queen-mother, with the intention of joining young Claudius—an almost impracticable

enterprise, as he was hundreds of leagues away in a stronghold of Shoa. Da Gama soon found that Abyssinian roads were never intended for wheel-traffic, and he was obliged to unload his carts, and carry the loads over the steep and rocky ridges until he reached the pleasant village of Baraka, near Senafé. Here, in the shady glen, he found the church and cavern of St. Romanos and his three hundred martyrs (afterwards frequently visited by the English officers from Senafé), and his men took pieces of the holy bones as relics. During the march, many chiefs ventured to come from their hiding-places and join the Queen; so that, besides his 450 Portuguese musketeers and his artillery, Da Gama was soon at the head of 12,000 Abyssinians, armed with spears and shields. Gragn was prepared to dispute the advance of the Portuguese with 1,500 horse, 15,000 foot, 200 Turkish musketeers, and some artillery. On the whole they were fairly matched; but the dash and energy of Da Gama at first carried all before him. He captured a fortress, called Amba Zanet, from the enemy, and then advanced against the army of Muhammed Gragn, having previously sent one of his officers, named Francisco Bello, down to Massowa, with forty men, to meet a vessel which had arrived with arms and ammunition. I cannot make out the exact position where the two armies encountered each other; but it must have been in Tigré, and not far from Debra Damo—possibly on the plain of Gullaba,

between Adigerat and Senafé. The action commenced with a steady charge of the Turkish musketeers, supported by Muhammed Gragn himself at the head of a body of cavalry. Da Gama received them with well-directed volleys, while his lieutenant, Manuel de Acunha, attacked them in front; and they broke and fled, their general having been wounded in the leg. During the pursuit, the Queen-mother erected a tent, and dressed the wounds of the Portuguese soldiers. One officer and ten men were slain. The Moslem army, though defeated, remained in sight; and a few days afterwards the battle was resumed, and they were again routed. If the Portuguese had had any cavalry, they might have captured the wounded Moslem general, and ended the war. As it was, Muhammed Gragn had time to fortify himself at the head of some pass leading to the sea, either Senafé or Degonta; while Da Gama went into quarters during the rainy season, and hutted his men in the neighbourhood, the country-people bringing in provisions with readiness and good-will. It is recorded that the wounded Portuguese were taken charge of by an Abyssinian chief, named Tigré-Mahon. Now, Tigré-Maquanen is the title of the chief of a district near Senafé, which makes it probable that the quarters of Muhammed Gragn, in this rainy season of 1542, were at the head of the very pass afterwards selected by General Merewether for the advance of the English

expedition. If so, there is interesting evidence that the Senafé Pass is open during the rains; for Muhammed Gragn purposely selected this position that he might be able to effect a junction with reinforcements which were landed for him on the coast by the Turks.

In the very middle of the rainy season, Dom Cristoforo undertook an enterprise of extraordinary daring and audacity. He was told that an almost impregnable stronghold in Semyen, on the other side of the great river Tákkazie, which was known as the "Jews' Mountain," had been captured by the Moslems, and he resolved to retake it. He set out from his encampment at midnight, accompanied only by two companies of Portuguese under Manuel de Acunha and Juan de Fonseca; traversed the almost impassable mountain roads of Tigré during incessant rain, and effected the passage of the swollen Tákkazie on inflated skins. The enemy were entirely taken by surprise, and, after a sharp fight, the renowned fortress was captured by the Christians.

Da Gama then returned with all possible speed to his encampment; and he was not a moment too soon, for during his absence the Moslem general had received a large supply of guns and ammunition from the coast, which enabled him to quit his fortified quarters and offer battle to the Portuguese in the open. It is said that Da Gama, too chivalrous to

retain the advantage of position, abandoned his entrenchments, and also came down into the plain, which was the cause of his overthrow. During the night of Tuesday, 27th of August, 1542, Gragn opened fire upon the Portuguese camp with his field-guns, and the Christians had to stand to their arms until morning. Their gallant general saw that he was overmatched both in numbers and arms; and, moreover, a detachment of his men, with all the horses, had not yet returned from the Jews' Mountain. He, however, resolved to fight the enemy where he stood, but only to act on the defensive until the horses came up. The Moslem general advanced with a thousand Turkish musketeers and ten field-guns in front, keeping up a continuous fire; and Da Gama, finding that his people were falling round him, and that the slight ditch round his camp was not defensible, resolved to sally out and attack the enemy. The general first led fifty musketeers to the charge, who fought most gallantly for some time, but were forced back, Da Gama himself being severely wounded in the leg. Other captains followed, but were always obliged to retreat again; and this harassing fight continued through the day, the Portuguese suffering great loss, but retarding the final attack on their position. Towards evening, two brothers, named Francisco and Jofre de Abreo, led their companions to the attack, and charged furiously into the Turkish ranks, hewing the unbelievers down

right and left. But Francisco was hit by a musket-ball, and, as his gallant brother Jofre was raising him in his arms to carry him off the field, another bullet went through his brain, and both fell dead locked in a close embrace. On seeing this, Dom Cristoforo again charged out of his lines, and for some time drove the enemy before him. Fortune at length appeared to be leaning to the side of the Christians, when their general received a ball in his right arm which broke it, so that he could no longer carry his sword. At that moment, Manuel de Acunha, one of his most able captains, came to his relief, and he was carried off the field. The day was lost. The Turks broke into the Christian camp, slaughtered forty wounded Portuguese, and Da Gama, with the Queen-mother and the Patriarch Bermudez, fled with a broken remnant of their troops under cover of the night. Besides the two brave brothers, Francisco Bello, Juan de Fonseca, and other officers, were among the slain, and 170 men.

Badly wounded, and cruelly mortified by his defeat, the brave Da Gama was with difficulty prevailed upon to accompany Bermudez and the Queen in their flight. Bermudez himself relates the subsequent events. He says that, on reaching the banks of a river,[1] Da Gama positively refused to go any further, and they were obliged to leave him behind. There is, however, something suspicious in all this, and I see

[1] Probably the Mai Mena.

reason to doubt whether Bermudez, who tells his own story, is quite clean-handed. It is true that Da Gama had captured a beautiful girl on the Jews' Mountain, to whom he was much attached; and it is possible that he may have stayed behind in the hope of finding her among the fugitives. Be this as it may, it is certain that the Portuguese general was captured near the river, and brought bound before his enemy. Unfortunately Da Gama, at the opening of the campaign, had grossly insulted the Moslem general by sending him a looking-glass and a pair of tweezers, as a hint that he was no better than a woman. On being brought into the presence of Muhammed Gragn, and being asked to become a follower of the prophet, he gave so scornful a reply that the barbarian became quite mad with rage. He first caused the Christian's beard to be pulled out with the tweezers he had sent, and then beheaded him, sending the head to one of the pashas in Egypt. The brave Turkish auxiliaries were so disgusted at this cowardly act of revenge that they abandoned their ally in a body, and returned to the coast.

I am inclined to place the scene of this fatal battle on or near the very spot where the English camp at Senafé was formed, on the following grounds:—The Portuguese reached the Abyssinian table-land by the Kioquor, or some other pass to the northward, and then marched south from Debaroa in the direction of

Debra Damo, until they reached a place where 300 Abyssinian martyrs were buried together in a cave. This is evidently Baraka, about eight miles S.W. of Senafé. The two battles with Muhammed Gragn were fought in that neighbourhood, and the wounded Portuguese were taken care of by the Tigré-maquanen, who was the chief of a district called Gula-mukado, bordering on Shumazano, which is the district of Senafé and Baraka. After his defeat, Muhammed Gragn took up his quarters, during the rains, at a point near the sea, so as to be conveniently placed for receiving reinforcements; and this would almost certainly be at the head of the Senafé Pass, if, as the above considerations would seem to show, the battles were fought so near to Senafé.

Only a remnant of the Portuguese escaped with the Queen and Bermudez, and retreated to the Jews' Mountain in Semyen, where they were joined by the young Negus Claudius. The Portuguese survivors elected Alfonso de Caldeira to command them, and they subsequently proved of the greatest service to the Abyssinian cause. In the following February (1543) a great battle was fought between the Abyssinians, with their Portuguese allies, and the Muhammedans on the plains of Dembea, near the northern shores of the great Lake of Tsana, in which Muhammed Gragn was shot by a musketeer named Pedro Leon, who thus avenged the death of his

beloved commander. In a subsequent battle Claudius, with the help of his Portuguese, defeated and killed another great Dankali chief, whose wife was given as a reward to Arias Diaz, the Portuguese captain. The Negûs was eventually slain in a battle with these same Danâkil or Taltal marauders from the low lands towards the Red Sea, in March 1559, and his eighteen Portuguese guards were killed to a man in their gallant attempt to save him. Yet the Portuguese were treated with the basest ingratitude. Some of them settled in Tigré, the great northern province of Abyssinia, and others in Godjam, to the south of Lake Tsana. They married natives; and Dr. Beke tells us that to this day their descendants are called Francis, at Karaneo and in its vicinity.[1]

The Jesuits, who accompanied and followed Bermudez, fixed their headquarters at Fremona in Tigré, near the Abyssinian town of Adowa, and about twelve miles from Axum; where they erected a church and a fortified convent. These buildings were on the top of a high hill, in the centre of a large plain, on one side of which stands Adowa. Bruce visited their ruins, and describes them as consisting of stone walls twenty-five feet high, with towers in the flanks and angles. Here the Jesuit mission was established for many years, undergoing numerous vicissitudes of good and evil fortune until it was

[1] Royal Geographical Society's Journal for 1844, vol. xiv. p. 27.

finally expelled. The place was originally called Maigogwa, which Bruce interprets correctly as "the river of owls," and Tellez as "the gurgling water." The name Fremona was given to the convent in honour of Frumentius, the Apostle of Abyssinia. The Jesuits of Fremona worked hard at the Geez and Amharic languages, studied the old Ethiopic chronicles of Axum, and collected material for the early history of Abyssinia. They also made numerous futile attempts to fix the latitude of Fremona with an astrolabe, always being more than thirty miles out in their reckoning.

But as missionaries the Portuguese Jesuits in Abyssinia were eminently unsuccessful. The people preferred their own traditional form of Christianity, hated innovation, and insisted upon having a Coptic, not a Romish, Abûna. Indeed, with such a man as Bermudez, success was impossible. He was proud, violent, and insolent; burnt women for witchcraft; treated the native priesthood' with contempt; and rendered himself odious to all classes. At last he went so far as to excommunicate the Negûs, who ordered him to retire to a distant convent for the remainder of his life, and sent for a new Abûna from Alexandria. Bermudez with difficulty escaped to Fremona, where he was concealed for a long time, and eventually sneaked out of the country by way of Debaroa and Massowa. The ex-Patriarch reached

Lisbon in safety, after a residence in Abyssinia of upwards of thirty years.[1]

In 1556 Nunez de Barreto, accompanied by a learned Spanish priest named Andres de Oviedo, was sent to succeed Bermudez as Patriarch of Ethiopia. He died at Goa in 1562, but Oviedo reached Massowa, and was for many years chief of the Jesuits at Fremona. But the mission was neglected and oppressed, though not actually expelled, by the successors of Claudius; and Oviedo died at Fremona in great poverty in the year 1577.[2] At about this time, apparently in 1572, the Turks permanently occupied Massowa, and other points on the west coast of the Red Sea, which they have held ever since. The title of Bahar-Nagâsh, or lord of the sea, henceforth became empty and vain, and Abyssinia was condemned to that fatal isolation which is the main cause of her barbarism in modern times.

In the beginning of the next century, Father Francisco Paez arived at Fremona, who was by far the ablest European that has yet resided in Abyssinia. He added to great tact and judgment, and an extraordinary power of influencing the minds of all classes

[1] His narrative was published at Lisbon in 1565, 4to. There is a copy in the British Museum, and an English version is given in Purchas. This work is the best authority for the famous expedition of Cristoforo da Gama, as it is written by an eye-witness of the events it describes.

[2] An account of the proceedings of Oviedo, and of his brother missionaries, will be found in Tellez, and also in Purchas's "Pilgrims."

of men among whom he was thrown, an amount of ability which enabled him to succeed in nearly everything he undertook, from turning a stone arch to ruling the mind of a king, and a quickness of apprehension which amounted to genius. This remarkable man was wrecked at Dhafâr, on the coast of Arabia, and remained a prisoner in Hadhramaut and Yaman for seven weary years. But at length he reached Fremona, and in 1604 was presented at the Court of the Negûs, at Dancaz, a great camp on the plain of Dembea, north-east of the Tsana Lake. This sovereign, whose name was Susneos, or Seltan Segged, was a grandson, or great-grandson, of the Negûs David,[1] and is described by the Jesuits as an excellent horseman, bold, brave, resolute, and well read in the Ethiopian books.

The presence of such a man as Paez in Abyssinia soon made itself felt. The Jesuit mission rose into high favour, and both the Negûs and his brother, Râs Sëla Cristos,[2] embraced the Romish faith. This gave rise to a rebellion, headed by the Coptic Abûna Peter, who was killed in a battle fought amongst the mountains of Semyen, when the insurgents were entirely

[1] Since the death of Claudius there had reigned, first, his brother Menas, or Adamâs Segged, from 1559 to 1562—a cruel tyrant; then the son of Menas, named Sartea Dengel or Malac Segged, until 1596; then Jacob, a natural son of Malac Segged; then Za Dengel, or Atsnâf Segged, a great supporter of the Jesuits, who was killed in battle in 1604; and lastly, Susneos, or Seltan Segged.

[2] Literally, "the picture of Christ."

defeated. The rebel cavalry were seized with a panic, could not stop themselves, and 600 men and horses galloped over a precipice. One of the Portuguese, named Manuel Gonzalez, who had been carried away by the flying crowd, let go the bridle as his horse was falling through the air, caught the branch of a tree, on which he spent the night, and scrambled safely out next morning. The representation of this catastrophe, in the Latin folio edition of Ludolf's Ethiopia, is one of the most stupendous prints that artist ever engraved.

After the battle, the Negûs Susneos crossed the Pass of Lamalmon, which is so graphically described by Bruce, and was crowned at Axum, by the new Abûna, on March 23d, 1609. Paez accompanied him, and continued to reside at his Court. But the Romish and Abyssinian priests nourished a deadly hatred against each other. The people sided with their countrymen, while the Negûs upheld the Portuguese. The Abûna and the Jesuits thundered excommunications against each other, while nobles and people petitioned their sovereign against innovations.

While Paez lived, these disputes were kept within bounds. But the most lasting memorials of his genius are to be found in the ruins of churches, palaces, and bridges, erected under his superintendence. His most famous work was the palace on the Peninsula of

Gorgora, at the north-western corner of the great Lake Tsana. Here he found a good quarry of white stone. He taught the workmen how to cut and lay the stones, using clay instead of mortar, and eventually he completed an edifice for the Negûs, containing a grand hall, and a chamber with a staircase in the centre, leading to an upper story, whence there was a magnificent view of the Lake. He placed a spring-lock on this door, a precaution which on one occasion saved the life of the Negûs, when the Abûna and some nobles conspired to kill him. Paez also built a church at Gorgora—another very fine one, supported by Ionic columns, on the plain of Dembea—and he probably rebuilt the famous church of Martola Mariam, which is described by Dr. Beke. A bridge near Gondar, and another across the Abai, are also probably due to Father Paez.[1]

It was certainly through the influence of Paez that the Negûs was induced to make a public profession of the Romish faith at Foggera, near the eastern shore of Lake Tsana, in 1622. The good Father died soon afterwards at Gorgora, after a residence of nineteen years in Abyssinia. He left a narrative of his labours, of which there were many copies in the Jesuit

[1] Father Paez is said to have visited the source of the Abai, or Blue Nile, in 1618; but Bruce maintains that the account of this visit in the manuscript of Paez, quoted by Kircher, was a modern interpolation.

colleges, but unfortunately it is not yet in an accessible form. Bruce says that it forms two thick octavo volumes, and that he saw three copies in Italy.[1]

In the very year that Paez died, Father Manuel d'Almeyda, another Jesuit, arrived at Massowa, and came to Fremona, whence he proceeded to the camp of the Negûs at Dancaz in Dembea, and he afterwards travelled over most parts of Abyssinia.[2] At the same time, the Negûs is said to have applied to the Pope for a new Patriarch, and Father Alfonzo Mendez was sent out in 1624, accompanied by several Jesuit priests, among whom was Father Geronimo Lobo. They landed at Belool, or Baylur, on the coast inhabited by the Dankali tribes, and approached the highlands of Abyssinia by a fearful route which has only twice been traversed by Europeans in modern times.[3] The Jesuits crossed the scorching salt desert in the month of June, and Lobo describes their sufferings and hardships in most piteous terms; but they eventually reached the convent of Fremona in safety. Lobo was employed to search for the remains of Cristoforo da Gama, which were sent to Goa

[1] There is one in the British Museum.

[2] His annual letters were published at Rome in 1629.—*Litteræ annuæ ex Æthiopia. Manuel de Almeida, Roma*, 1629, 12mo.; and a French translation came out in the same year. Extracts from these letters are given by Tellez, in his general history of Ethiopia.

[3] Once by Mr. Coffin, in 1810, and once by Mr. Munzinger, in 1867.

for interment. This Jesuit remained in charge of the mission at Fremona for some years, and was afterwards ordered by his superiors to proceed to Damot, a province to the south of Lake Tsana. He crossed the Abai by jumping from rock to rock at a point which was afterwards called "The Passage of Father Geronimo." Bruce is very angry with poor Lobo; as he also is with Paez, for having described the sources of the Abai, or Blue Nile, which the great traveller looked upon as his exclusive property. From Damot, Lobo was ordered to return to Tigré, and he remained at Fremona until the expulsion of the Jesuits.

There were, at this time, as many as nineteen Jesuits in Abyssinia, with churches and converts, and the Patriarch Alfonzo Mendez had unlimited influence over the Negûs; but they were universally detested by the people. As the Negûs grew old their power waned, and when he died, on September 16th, 1633, it sank for ever. His son and successor Fasilidas shared the feeling of the people, and resolved to put an end to the intrusion of these foreign priests. Immediately on his accession, the Patriarch Mendez was ordered to leave his Court, and retire to the convent of Fremona. Soon afterwards he and all his Jesuits were handed over to the tender mercies of the Turks, who sent them to the Pasha of Suâkin; and, after a long imprisonment, they were at length

ransomed, and allowed to sail for the Portuguese settlements on the coast of India.[1]

The connexion of the Portuguese with Abyssinia, which extended over a period of a century and a half, is as important to the comparative geographer as it is to the historian.[2] In ascending to the highlands, from the shores of the Red Sea, they all, with a single exception, appear to have landed at Massowa, and reached their headquarters near Axum by way of the Convent of Bisan, Asmara, and Debaroa. But Mendez and Lobo struck out a new route for themselves. Landing at Belool, far to the south, they traversed the desert of salt, reached the banks of the Ragolay, a river which has been rediscovered by General Merewether and his reconnoitring party in our time, and arrived at Fremona by way of Senafé. The old road of the Greek settlers from Adulis to Axum, which was partly re-opened by General Merewether for the advance of the English force, and the

[1] The narrative of the Patriarch Alonzo Mendez was published in French at Lille in 1633, but the original is not known to exist. That of Father Lobo was first published at Coimbra in 1659. It was translated into French by Joachim Le Grand, in 1728, and the English version of 1735 is particularly interesting as being the first published work of Dr. Samuel Johnson. Lobo's narrative will also be found in "Pinkerton's Voyages," vol. xv.

[2] General histories of the Portuguese connexion with Abyssinia were written by the Jesuit Balthazar Tellez (Coimbra, 1661), translated into English in 1710; and by Ludolph, the learned German, who obtained his information from the Abyssinian Gregory. See also an excellent condensed account in vol. xv. (modern) of the "Universal History" (1760).

more modern routes of Halai and Dixa, appear to have been neglected in the period of Portuguese intercourse with Abyssinia.

After reaching the highlands, the different Portuguese explorers, at one time or another, traversed the country in all directions. Alvarez, with the mission of Rodriguez de Lima, went south from Axum by the route afterwards taken by the English expedition. Da Gama and Bermudez, with their armed force, traversed Tigré and Semyen; while Paez, Almeida, and Lobo became well acquainted with all the districts round the Lake Tsana, and with the provinces of Godjam and Damot. Before the Jesuits were expelled from Abyssinia, the glory of Portugal had come to an end. *But this* Abyssinian episode is not the least interesting portion of that brilliant history of Portuguese heroism which has been sung by Camoens. "At the proudest moment of that brief and glorious period," says Schlegel, "a great national song broke forth, like the dying notes of the fabled swan, a dirge for the departed hero-nation."

Almost immediately after the overthrow of Muhammed Gragn, and while the Portuguese Jesuits were still in the country, an irresistible invasion of the Galla tribes burst upon the Abyssinians from the south, which, with the fatal isolation caused by the occupation of their sea-board by the Turks, has had the effect of checking the national progress to this

day, and of throwing back a once civilized people more and more into barbarism and anarchy. The origin of these Gallas is still a mystery, and is likely to remain one. They came from the direction of the equator,—from the still almost unknown lands to the south of Abyssinia,—yet they are fairer than the Abyssinians themselves; and old Tellez says that *Galla* means milk, because they were white men. In the middle of the sixteenth century these savage invaders began to overrun the southern provinces of Abyssinia, and defied every effort of the Negûs to stem their advance. Tellez compares their inroad to the inundation of a mighty river, and calls the Gallas the scourge that God has made use of against the Abyssinians. The Negûs Susneos, and his successors, passed most of their time in wars with these Gallas, who were found to be a fierce untameable people, resolved either to conquer or die when they once begin to fight, and generally mounted on strong hardy ponies. They have succeeded in holding their ground, and their territory runs like a long wedge across the centre of Abyssinia, cutting off and isolating Shoa, to the south, from the other Christian provinces. The most northern division, or tribe, of Gallas, called the Azebo Gallas, forms the long pointed end of the wedge, and occupies the valleys to the east of the Abyssinian highlands as far as the Salt Desert. They are a cruel set of bloodthirsty robbers. Then

come the Yadjow Gallas, in the rich country near the sources of the Tákkazie; while the Wallo Gallas hold the great plateaux along the course of the Beshilo. These tribes became Muhammedan soon after they entered upon their conquests,[1] but the Galla hordes farther south were, and continue to be, heathen.

Negûs Fasilidas and his successors were doomed to pass most of their time in waging sanguinary wars against these Gallas, which plunged the wretched country deeper and deeper into anarchy. But Fasilidas,[2] although he expelled the Jesuits, did not altogether fail to profit by the intercourse of his people with the industrious fathers. He appears to have been the founder of Gondar, a city which continued to be the capital of Abyssinia for a hundred and fifty years; and he built the old palace there, which is still standing, though in a ruinous condition. The first European who visited Abyssinia after the expulsion of the Jesuits, was a French physician named Poncet. While at Cairo he was requested by an Abyssinian to come to his country and cure the

[1] Mestiat, the present Galla Queen, presented a pedigree of her son Imâm Ahmed, which, calculating from the number of generations, would show that his ancestors had been true believers for about three centuries. It sets forth that Imâm Ahmed (a boy now about twelve years old) was the son of Libân, who was the son of Ahmed, the son of Libân, the son of Ahmed, the son of Muhammed, the son of 'Ali el Harafy Mesh'ib-en-Nûr (who assumed the Imâmship with the sanction of the Sultan of Rûm), the son of Husein.

[2] Or Basilides.

King of a disease, and he accordingly set out in 1698, by way of the Nile and Senaar, accompanied by a French Jesuit named Brevedent, and arrived safely at Gondar, where he was well received by the Negûs Yasûs. He found this prince residing in the palace at Gondar, and waging an annual war with the Gallas. He was still a powerful sovereign, and the principal chiefs had not yet succeeded in usurping the authority of the Negûs.[1]

But at the time that our own great traveller, James Bruce of Kinnaird, was in Abyssinia, about seventy years later, the Negûs was fast becoming a mere puppet in the hands of the most powerful chief for the time being. Bruce found Râs Michael, of Tigré, the *de facto* sovereign; while the Negûs Tekla Haimanot was a cypher, merely giving the weight of his name—which was still treated with respect—to the acts of his all-powerful minister. This new order of things continued down to the time of Theodore. The Negûs became an abject puppet; the Râs, or minister, was the ruler of Amhara, or the central and principal part of Abyssinia; while the two great

[1] Poncet travelled through Tigré, and returned by way of Massowa. His narrative was published in London, in 1709, and it is also printed in vol. xv. of "Pinkerton's Voyages." But Dr. Poncet is not a very reliable authority. It is not easy to put much faith in the statements of a traveller who declares that his mule ran away with him, and crossed three vastly deep precipices with dreadful swiftness, while he stuck on by a particular protection of heaven; and that his companion foretold this event before he died.

divisions to the north and south, Tigré and Shoa, were virtually independent. Rebellions were incessant, and every petty chief thought himself entitled to ravage the country in the selfish pursuit of power or profit. This anarchy completed the barbarism of the people—a barbarism which had originally been caused by isolation from the civilized world, and aggravated by subsequent ceaseless struggles with the Gallas. Thus gloomily did the present century open upon Abyssinia.

CHAPTER II.

ABYSSINIA IN THE PRESENT CENTURY—THE EMPEROR THEODORE—IMPRISONMENT OF CONSUL CAMERON.

At the opening of the present century, the political condition of Abyssinia had become, what it has since continued to be, a military anarchy; and where, in parts of the country, the people have enjoyed the blessings of peace for a longer or shorter period, it has been due to the personal qualities of some powerful chief, and has come to an end with his death, or defeat in battle. The Negûs of the ancient dynasty became a mere cypher; the Râs, who usurped his power, was unable to exact obedience from distant chiefs, who considered themselves his equals, and incessant wars were the result. The provinces are generally governed by hereditary chiefs, usually with the title of Dadj-ăzmâtsh,[1] whose families have long

[1] "Dadj-ăzmâtsh" means, literally, "the warrior at the gate." It was a title at the court of the old emperors, but is now used by chiefs of the highest rank, and usually in its contracted form of "Dadjatsh." A "Dadj-ăzmâtsh" is entitled to have one "nagareet" (kettle-drum) beaten before him for each province he governs. (Isenberg, p. 131.).

held dominion, and for whom the people often feel a strong attachment. Chiefs and people are Christians in more than name, their whole life, and all their thoughts, being pervaded with Christian and monastic legend; but the long anarchy and isolation has deprived them of almost every trace of refinement, and the chiefs are often cruel, boastful, turbulent, and grasping. Their features, though varying much in complexion, and often very dark, are regular and handsome. Their hair is plaited into rounded furrows, with great care, from the forehead to the back of the neck, and covered with butter. Over their cotton shirt and drawers they throw a *shâma*, or cloak, of white cotton cloth, with a broad scarlet border, worn like a Spanish *capa*, and a fur or lion-skin *lemd*, or tippet, with six or eight long tails. On the right side hangs a curved sword, with ornamented hilt and red leather scabbard; and a long spear and hide shield, adorned with gold filagree bosses or silver plates, complete their equipment. Their followers are quartered upon the country people, and the incessant wars have encouraged the growth of a great body of worthless soldiers of fortune, who are the curse of the country. The Abyssinians are, I think, capable of civilization. Their agriculture is good, their manufactures are not to be despised; but the combined effects of isolation, Galla inroads, and internal anarchy, have thrown them back for centuries.

The immediate cause of the fall of the ancient royal family was the alliance of the reigning Negûs with the Gallas, shortly before Bruce arrived in Abyssinia. Wearied out with centuries of incessant war, the Negûs Yasûs II. at length tried what conciliation would do, and married a Galla woman. This defection aroused the pride and anger of the Abyssinian Christians, who rallied round Râs Michael Suhul, of Tigré, the hereditary chief of Salawa; and before many years Yasûs had been put to death, a mere puppet, named Tekla Haimanot, had been raised to the throne, and Râs Michael became all powerful. When Bruce arrived at Gondar, in 1770, he found Râs Michael the *de facto* ruler of Abyssinia. Bruce, in his delightful narrative, makes us intimate with the family and court of Râs Michael; with the charming princess, or Waizero Esther; and with the manners and customs of Abyssinian chiefs, which have since undergone but little change. Râs Michael died at Adowa, in extreme old age, in 1780; and his son Walda Gabriel was killed in a battle with the Gallas. Then, in the last years of the last century, the Yadjow Gallas actually obtained the supreme power in Amhara, and possession of the person of the puppet emperor. Their chief, Râs Guksa,[1] outwardly conformed to the Christian religion,

1 He was the son of 'Ali Gaz, son of 'Ali, son of Guanguol, the chief of the Yadjow Gallas in Bruce's time. This Guanguol, according to Bruce, was a filthy little savage, wearing necklaces of cow's entrails.—Vol. vi. p. 43.

as a concession to the invincible prejudices of the Abyssinians, and many of his people followed his example. He established the seat of his government at Debra Tabor, in the province of Bagemder, to the eastward of Lake Tsana; while the despised Negûs continued to live at Gondar, which was the largest town in central Abyssinia, and the chief commercial entrepôt.

But Shoa and Tigré, as well as Godjam, to the south of the great lake, were virtually independent of the central power. Shoa was ruled by a family which descended through females from the royal house; and Tigré had fallen into the hands of one of the best rulers that Abyssinia has produced during the present century. This was Râs Walda Selassyè,[1] the hereditary chief of Enderta, the southernmost province of Tigré. His father, Dadjatsh Kefla Yasûs, had rebelled against Râs Michael, and had been put to death with the most hideous cruelty, and the son had for many years taken refuge with the chief of Godjam. But, on the defeat and death of Râs Michael's son, he came forth from his hiding-place, the people of his native country rallied round him, and he succeeded in holding his own against Râs Guksa, and in becoming the independent ruler of Tigré, in about 1790. Râs Walda Selassyè ruled over Tigré for upwards of twenty-five years. He had a palace in the principal commercial

[1] "Walda Selassyè" means "Son of the Trinity."

town of Adowa; but his favourite residences were at Antalo, in his native province of Enderta, and at the pleasant village of Chelicut; both which places were on the line of march of the English expedition, and will be fully described hereafter.

During the time of Ras Walda Selassyè, the first official communication was opened between England and Abyssinia; Mr. Salt visiting his court at Antalo, first in 1804, under the auspices of Lord Valentia,[1] and again in 1810, officially,[2] bringing with him two three-pounder field-guns, and other presents. On the first occasion, he left with the Râs, at Antalo, a young English blue-jacket, named Nathaniel Pearce—a regular young scapegrace, who had passed his short life in running away from school and being flogged, deserting from his ship and getting two-dozen, knocking down sentries, and defying all authority.[3] The letter "R" was against his name at the Admiralty. But for all this young Pearce had the makings of a very fine fellow. In Abyssinia, his audacious courage excited the admiration of the natives, and his name is still remembered at Chelicut. On the second visit Mr. Salt brought with him a supercargo, named Coffin,

[1] Voyages and Travels of Viscount Valentia. 3 vols. 4to, 1809.

[2] Voyage to Abyssinia in the years 1809 and 1810. By Henry Salt. 1814, 4to.

[3] Life and Adventures of Nathaniel Pearce. Written by himself. Edited by J. J. Hall, Esq. London, 1831. 2 vols. A most interesting little book. It contains also an account of Coffin's journey to Gondar.

who made the remarkable journey from Hanfilá, on the coast, across the salt desert, to Antalo. Both Pearce and Coffin remained in the country when Mr. Salt took his leave. They found in the old Râs a generous and reliable employer, a true and large-hearted friend. One very pleasing story is told of Walda Selassyè and Pearce. The hot-headed young sailor, considering himself aggrieved for some reason or other, had parted from the Râs in great anger, and gone away into Semyen, in 1807; but hearing, some months afterwards, that his old master was pressed hard by the Gallas, and deserted by many of his own people, Pearce immediately returned to Antalo. The chiefs strongly advised him not to venture into the presence of the Râs; but he advanced boldly, and as soon as the noble old man saw him, he turned to a chief, and exclaimed, "Look at that man! He came to me a stranger, about five years ago, and, not being satisfied with my treatment, left me in great anger; but now that I am deserted by some of my friends, and pressed upon by my enemies, he is come back to fight by my side!"

Râs Walda Selassyè ruled from about 1790 to 1816, but during the whole period Abyssinia was a prey to incessant petty wars. Râs Guksa, who ruled Amhara, was engaged in ever-recurring fights with Libán, the chief of the Wallo Gallas, devastating the fertile plateaux of Wadela and Dalanta, over which the

English forces lately marched; and occasionally turning his arms against Wagshum Confu, the ruler of Lasta. Walda Selassyè, besides periodical attacks from the savage Azebo Gallas, and wars with Râs Gabryé, the chief of Semyen, was harassed from time to time by the rebellion of Sabagadis, the turbulent chief of Agamê. In September, 1810, Coffin and Pearce accompanied the Râs in an expedition against this incorrigible young rebel, whose country of Agamê was a mountainous tract, abounding in impregnable natural fortresses, and inhabited by a people famous through Abyssinia as excellent marksmen, and influenced by a strong feeling of attachment for the family of their hereditary chief. The march of the Râs led the two Englishmen almost over the very ground afterwards traversed by the liberating army of their countrymen. They went by Haik-hallat to Agula, and thence to Adigerat, burning every village on the road. They then hunted Sabagadis out of a strong *amba*, near the ancient monastery of Goonda-goonda, stopped a week to destroy everything in the valley of the Mena, "the finest in that country," says Pearce, "for corn and cattle," and then returned to Antalo. In October, 1812, Sabagadis came to the Râs with a stone upon his neck, and was forgiven, but his still more turbulent brother, Gabra Gura, was confined in chains in the lofty *amba* of Alaji. Again, in 1813, the Agamê chief rose in rebellion, and, for the sake of peace, the aged

Râs released his brother, who had learnt to read the Psalms of David during his captivity.

The last days of Walda Selassyè were harassed by the insolence and unblushing extortion of a new Abûna. In fact, even the slight connexion with the outer world caused by the periodical arrival of these Coptic priests was no longer productive of good, since the Egyptian Church had become corrupt and ignorant, as well as heretical. Râs Walda Selassyè died at Chelicut on the 28th of May, 1816. He was attended in his last moments by his faithful English sailor, who buried him in the same grave with his brother, in the church dedicated to the Trinity. Pearce describes him as the most merciful governor ever known in Abyssinia, but a great miser, the poor getting nothing from him save the yearly offerings. He adds, however, that the Râs was nevertheless a great favourite with them, because he administered justice, and protected them from oppression.

Great confusion followed the death of the renowned old warrior. His son Dadjatsh Raphaël, Gabra Mikhail, the chief of Tembyen, and Sabagadis of Agamê, contended for supremacy. During this time, in 1818, Pearce left Abyssinia, and was afterwards in the employment of his old friend Mr. Salt, then Consul-General of Egypt, who had succeeded in getting the letter "R" removed from his name at the Admiralty. He died at Alexandria, in June, 1820, aged only 41.

His comrade, Mr. Coffin, remained in his adopted country. The interminable wars of these Abyssinian chiefs are as little worthy of record as the skirmishes of crows and kites. It will suffice, in this rapid sketch, to relate the chief events, and give some idea of the most prominent actors; and among the latter must certainly be placed Sabagadis of Agamê, who, having slain his rival Gabra Mikhail, with his own spear, became the independent ruler of all Tigré in 1818.

Sabagadis, the son of Shum Walda of Agamê, is to this day the favourite hero of the Abyssinians. During the early part of his career he was, as we have seen, a turbulent rebel, but on attaining supreme command, he became a vigorous and popular ruler. Mr. Salt, who knew him as a young man in 1810, foretold his future success, having been much struck by his intelligence and ability. For an Abyssinian, Sabagadis was tall and well made. He was five feet ten inches high, broad shouldered, and with a vigorous frame capable of enduring the severest privations. His complexion was very fair, with dark grey eyes, an aquiline nose, and a profusion of black hair. He was generous, brave, and impulsive, and at the same time free from most of the superstitions of his countrymen. His favourite residence was at Adigerat, the capital of his native province, where he had a handsome palace. He maintained peace and prosperity in Tigré

from his accession to his death, was just to the poor, and friendly to all strangers. The missionary Gobat, now Bishop of Jerusalem, was especially received by him, in 1830, with friendly cordiality.

But in 1830 two powerful enemies combined against Sabagadis. One was Dadjatsh Oobyé,[1] a grandson of that Râs Gabryé, of Semyen, who had given so much trouble to Walda Selassyè. The other was Râs Mâryé, the Yadjow Galla, son and successor of Râs Guksa, of Amhara. Sabagadis was now advanced in years, but seven stalwart sons were growing up around him to fight their father's battles. There were Hagos, the gallant young warrior, joy of his father's heart,[2] who was old enough to have fought in the wars which followed the death of the old Râs; Walda Mikhail, the hasty tempered; Kâsa, his mother's reward;[3] Walda Selassyè, Guangul, Sabhât, and Aragâwi. Their names are given because their influence, or that of their children, was still felt in Tigré during the time of the English expedition. Sabagadis and his sons led an army against the allied enemy, and the battle took place at Mai-Islâmi (or Daga Shaha ?) near Debra Abbaye, on the north bank of the river Tákkazie, in December, 1830. At first the people of

[1] Literally, "my beauty," a name given by his mother.

"Hagos" means "joy," in the Tigré language.

[3] "Kâsa" means literally a "substitute," or in a legal sense "damages." It is given by a mother to her second child, when her first-born is dead.

Tigré gained some successes, and the brave young Hagos slew Râs Mâryé himself in single combat. But Hagos was killed by the Gallas, his sorrowing father lost heart, and the Tigré army dispersed. Sabagadis was taken prisoner, and speared to death, by his enraged enemies. His loss was mourned by the people he had served so well, and numerous songs still preserve his memory among their descendants.

"Alas, Sabagadis! the pillar of the poor
Has fallen at Daga Shaha, weltering in his blood.
The people of this country, will they find it a good thing
To eat ears of corn which have grown in the blood?
Who will remember St. Michael of November? (to give alms)
Mâryé, with five thousand Gallas, has killed him who gave alms.
For the half of a loaf, for a cup of wine,
The friend of the Christians has fallen at Daga Shaha."[1]

The Gallas then marched to Adowa; but their chief, Râs Dori, the brother and successor of Râs Mâryé, died after a few months, and his people retired into Amhara, where Râs Ali, nephew of Râs Mâryé, succeeded to the position of ruler of all central Abyssinia, when only twelve years of age. This left the field open for Dadjatsh Oobyé, of Semyen, who prepared to attempt the conquest of Tigré. But the gallant young chiefs of Agamê did not allow him to take possession with-

[1] I quote these lines from Gobat's narrative, but they were given me in almost the very same words by Mercha Warké, the Tigré envoy. Bishop Gobat says that they touched him to tears, and he was told that they were a dirge over Sabagadis, which the people sing every evening, weeping, in all the Amhara country.

out further opposition. Mr. Coffin had been sent on a mission to England by Sabagadis in 1828, and, returning with a supply of muskets, he gave some to the sons of his employer. Walda Mikhail, the second son, succeeded to the position of head of the family on the death of Hagos. He at first made head against the invader; but by some hasty act he had caused a blood feud against himself in the province of Akula-guzay, where he was murdered while on the march, leaving two young sons named Barya-hoo and Guksa. Kâsa, the next son, was induced to lay down his arms and accept the daughter of his foe, but the day after his arrival at the camp of Dadjatsh Oobyé, he was treacherously seized and thrown into prison. The other sons—Guangul, Sabhât, Walda Selassyè, and Aragâwi—retreated into the fastnesses of their native Agamê.

Dadjatsh Oobyé was a man of considerable ability, and, on the whole, ruled Tigré well and wisely from 1831 to 1855, during which time Râs Ali governed Central Abyssinia in the name of the puppet Emperors Sahela Dengel (literally, "clemency of the virgin") and Johannes. Sahela Selassyè was King of Shoa; and Godjam was under an independent chief named Goshu. The wars between Tigré, Amhara, and Godjam, during this period, are of no permanent interest, and are not worth recording. It was during the time of Oobyé and Râs Ali that European mis-

sionaries, men of science, and adventurers, began to appear in Abyssinia. Bishop Gobat led the way in 1830,[1] and was the first, except Coffin, to visit Gondar since the time of Bruce. In 1835 he returned, bringing with him three Protestant missionaries—Krapf, Isenberg, and Blumhardt—to whom we are indebted for much carefully collected information. Isenberg's Amharic dictionary has superseded that of Ludolf, and is now considered the best authority.[2] These missionaries established themselves at Adowa, where they remained until 1838, when they were obliged to leave Abyssinia, owing to the prejudices and superstitions of the priests. At the same time Dr. Rüppel, of Frankfort, a distinguished naturalist, was exploring the highlands, and he traversed a portion of the route taken by the English expedition.[3] Dr. Schimper, a German botanist, also came to Abyssinia at that time, and has remained there ever since, having completed an exhaustive collection of the flora of Tigré. Between 1839 and 1843 M. Lefebvre, with his colleagues Dillon and Petit, made a scientific expedition into Abyssinia, and explored a considerable portion of the English line of march;[4] and afterwards two French officers

[1] Journal of Three Years' Residence in Abyssinia. By Rev. S. Gobat. 1834.

[2] Dictionary of the Amharic Language. By Rev. C. W. Isenberg. 1841.

[3] Reisen in Abyssinien. Von E. Rüppel. 1838. Frankfort.

[4] Voyage en Abyssinie exécuté pendant les Années 1839–43. Paris, 1845. 6 vols. 8vo., and 3 vols. atlas folio.

of engineers, Messrs. Ferret and Galinier, surveyed the route through Tigré from Massowa to Gondar.[1] After the expulsion of Krapf and Isenberg, a Roman Catholic mission was established in Tigré, and in 1841 Father de Jacobis, an Italian of noble birth, of great talent, and undaunted zeal, arrived in the country as Vicar Apostolic, living for some years at the pleasant wood of Guala, near Adigerat, where he introduced the vine and the potato.

Mr. Mansfield Parkyns visited Tigré between 1843 and 1848, and gave us the pleasantest book that has been written on Abyssinia since the days of Bruce;[2] and the two young Englishmen, Walter Plowden and Bell, arrived there at about the same time, and took a prominent part in the subsequent history of the country. The brothers D'Abbadie were also engaged, at that period, in exploring and collecting valuable scientific and literary data.

In 1841 the second official communication was opened with Abyssinia, the first having consisted in the mission of Mr. Salt to Râs Walda Selassyè in 1810. Major Harris was sent from Bombay to the court of Sahela Selassyè, the King of Shoa, with whom he concluded a treaty of friendship, and left the country in February, 1843.[3] Mr. Krapf and Mr.

[1] Voyage en Abyssinie dans les Provinces du Tigré, du Samen, et de l'Amhara. Par MM. Ferret et Galinier. Paris, 1847. 3 vols. 8vo. and atlas.

[2] Life in Abyssinia. By Mansfield Parkyns. 1853. 2 vols. 8vo.

[3] The Highlands of Ethiopia. By Major W. C. Harris. 1844. 3 vols.

Isenberg, expelled from Adowa, had previously arrived at Ankobar, the capital of Shoa, in 1839, and when the latter returned to England, in 1842, Krapf commenced the most perilous and adventurous journey that has ever been made through Abyssinia. He set out with the intention of making his way to Gondar, but he was stopped and robbed of everything save the clothes in which he stood up in, by a Galla chief, named Adara Billé, and forced to take another route. The good man then begged his way along the exact road taken by the English expedition, passing in sight of Magdala. After undergoing fearful hardships, and meeting with most heartless inhospitality from the natives, he eventually reached Massowa in May, 1842.[1] A Mr. Johnston[2] and M. Rochet d'Hericourt[3] were also in Shoa in 1841 and 1842, and published their travels. Dr. Beke landed at Tajurrah, the nearest port to Shoa, in November, 1840, and was at Ankobar during the mission of Major Harris. He went thence to the province of Godjam, which he traversed in all directions, visiting the source of the Abai, Bruce's famous fountain of the Nile, and returned across Abyssinia by a new route through Bagemder, Lasta, Wag, and Tigré to Massowa.[4]

[1] Journals of Messrs. Krapf and Isenberg, 1839–42. London, 1843.

[2] Travels in Southern Abyssinia. By Charles Johnston. 1844.

[3] Second Voyage au Royaume de Choa. Par Rochet d'Hericourt. 1846. 3 vols.

[4] Royal Geographical Society's Journal for 1844, vol. xiv.

After having been nearly four years in Abyssinia, Mr. Plowden was, on his return in 1846, requested by Râs Ali to undertake the conveyance of a few presents to the Queen of England, and on that occasion he submitted several able memoranda to Lord Palmerston, suggesting that friendly intercourse would certainly give rise to a vast improvement in the social and political position of Abyssinia, while it would develop the overland trade, and cause an increasing demand for manufactured goods. This led to Mr. Plowden's appointment as consular agent at Massowa, for the protection of British trade in Abyssinia; and thus commenced the train of events, extending over twenty years, which ended in the storming of Magdala. In January, 1848, Mr. Plowden was appointed H.M. Consul in Abyssinia, was entrusted with presents for Râs Ali, and received instructions from Lord Palmerston to conclude a treaty of friendship and commerce with that chief. The objects of this appointment were the encouragement and extension of British commerce, and Râs Ali was informed in a letter, to be delivered by Mr. Plowden, that Abyssinia would derive great advantages from intimate connexion with the Sovereign of Great Britain, whose dominions extend from the rising to the setting sun. Plowden arrived at Debra Tabor in 1849, and Râs Ali, who was an excessively indolent selfish man, readily signed the treaty, but yawned

while it was read to him, and observed that he did not believe it would be the least use, as no English merchant was at all likely to come to Abyssinia. At that time Dadjatsh Oobyé was still virtually independent in Tigré, and Dadjatsh Birou, the son of Goshu, called Birou Goshu, was in rebellion in the province of Godjam.

We now come to the period when that extraordinary man first began to take a prominent part in Abyssinian affairs, whose career has since attracted the attention of the whole civilized world, and whose heroic end has lately made some atonement for the atrocious cruelties of his later years. Lij Kâsa,[1] the son of Haila Mariam, was born, in 1818, at Chergli in Kuara, a province on the eastern frontier of Abyssinia, mountainous and thickly wooded, and bordering on the low plains which stretch away towards the Blue Nile. Dadjatsh Confu, the chief of Kuara, who had become famous for having defeated the Egyptian troops of Muhammed Ali at Gallabat, in 1838, when they attempted to invade Abyssinia, was his uncle. On his father's death, young Kâsa was reduced to great poverty, and it is said that his mother at one time earned a living for herself and her child by selling the medicine called *kosso* in the

[1] Theodore always called himself *Kâsa*, when he used that name, and not *Kasai*. *Lij* means a child, but is often applied to men until they have reached middle age. It means here "Young Kâsa."

market-place of Gondar. Kâsa himself was sent to the convent of Tchankar, near Lake Tsana, to be educated as a *daftera* or scribe, and when the convent was attacked and pillaged by some turbulent chief, the young *daftera* fled to his native province of Kuara, and became a soldier of fortune. But, in his wild robber life, Kâsa was always able to take the lead among his companions. He did so by right of his superior intelligence and bravery, by right of his pre-eminence in all manly exercises, and by right of his education, for he had learnt to read, and was versed in Bible history and in the Psalms of David. At about this time his uncle Dadjatsh Confu died, and the chief of Godjam conquered Kuara, while Gared and his brothers, the sons of Confu, were fighting for supremacy. Kâsa took refuge, with his cousins, in the mountains, and became a noted leader of malcontents. Menen, the mother of Râs Ali, a famous female warrior, had married the puppet Emperor, old Hatse Johannes, and was then ruling the province of Dembea for her son. Suddenly young Kâsa, with his wild following, marched against this lady, defeated her army, and obtained the sovereignty of Dembea under her, with the hand of Râs Ali's daughter, the beautiful Tawâbetch.[1] This first wife

[1] From the root "Oob" (beauty); whence "Oobyé" (my beauty), and the verb "Tawâba" (he was beautiful), whence the feminine "Tawâbetch" (she was beautiful).

was his good genius, and during her life he was ever abstemious, continent, and capable of self-restraint. In the following years he was engaged in fighting the disciplined Egyptian soldiers on the frontier; he attacked Matamma, and although his raw levies were defeated by Saleh Bey and his Egyptians, yet he learnt experience and a respect for discipline in these campaigns, and greatly increased his own renown amongst his countrymen. In about 1850, having been insulted by his grandmother-in-law Menena, he again marched against her, defeated her army, and captured one of her chiefs named Dadjatsh Wandefrâs. This worthy had called his conqueror a *kosso*-vendor's son, and a large forced drink of the nauseous medicine avenged the insult. For a short time afterwards Kâsa was reconciled with Râs Ali, and was in attendance upon him at Debra Tabor; but he was soon again in rebellion, and Râs Ali sent an army against him, led by a famous general named Aligaz Fâris, with an auxiliary force supplied by Oobyé of Tigré. A battle followed, Kâsa was victorious as usual, and occupied Gondar. Thoroughly alarmed at last, the indolent Râs Ali marched in person into Dembea, to punish his rebellious vassal. But he was entirely defeated, Kâsa chased his troops to the Blue Nile, and finally routed him in Godjam in 1854. Râs Ali escaped first to Lasta, and afterwards to his native country, where he died some years afterwards; and

thus ended the Yadjow Galla dynasty, which had ruled over central Abyssinia for upwards of sixty years, since the rise of Râs Guksa.

Kâsa was now in undisputed possession of all the former dominions of Râs Ali, but this by no means satisfied his soaring ambition. In 1854 he sent to Oobyé to demand tribute from him, and also that the Abûna should return to Gondar. The latter was a point of the utmost importance to the new ruler. The Abûna is the sole Bishop in Abyssinia, without him no church can be consecrated, no priest ordained. The holder of the office in 1854 was a Coptic priest named Andraos, who had arrived in Abyssinia in 1841 with the title of Abûna Salâmah—an excitable, proud, ambitious man, very ignorant, but good-natured and true in his friendships. He excommunicated Kâsa when he began to threaten Tigré with invasion, but was outwitted by the extraordinary man who was now rapidly rising to power, with consummate skill. Kâsa played the Roman Catholic Jacobis against the Coptic Abûna, threatened to acknowledge the former unless the latter removed his excommunication, and the Abûna eventually conceded all that Kâsa required and came to Gondar, on condition that Jacobis was expelled.

The only remaining rivals of Kâsa were now Birou Goshu, the chief of Godjam, a brave and able, but horribly cruel leader, and Oobyé of Tigré. In 1854 the

former was defeated and taken prisoner, and in 1855, Kâsa marched against the powerful ruler of Tigré. The two armies encountered each other on the 10th of February, at a place called Derezgye[1] in Semyen, that of Kâsa being tired and worn out by incessant marching, while the men of Tigré were fresh, and Oobyé's bravest son had organized two picked corps, one with white, the other with black *lemds* or tippets. But fortune was still with the upstart; Oobyé was entirely defeated and taken prisoner, and all Tigré submitted to the conqueror. The time had now arrived for Kâsa to put the crown to his ambition. He would not be Ras or minister to any puppet Negûs, but must needs be himself a king; and the tradition that a great sovereign, named Theodore,[2] would one day arise in Abyssinia suggested a name, while courtly genealogists traced the descent of the respectable Kuara family from the line of the ancient kings. Kâsa, who but a few years before had been the fugitive leader of a small band of hunted robbers, was crowned with great pomp in a church near the battle-field by the Abûna himself, as Theodore, the King of the Kings of Ethiopia. The German botanist Schimper superintended the floral decorations of the church at Derezgye.

[1] Contracted from "Debra Egzya" (The Hill of God).

[2] The correct spelling is *Têwôderôs;* but the *w* is not sounded, and the word is pronounced by the Abyssinians *Teôderos.*

Theodore, the new King of Kings of Ethiopia, was certainly the most remarkable man that has appeared in Africa for some centuries. Great allowances must be made for his ignorance, and for the circumstances which surrounded him. Before we judge him, we are bound in fairness to consider how very low was the level from which he had to rise. Having led the life of a lawless soldier, and having been accustomed from childhood to witness the perpetration of the most barbarous acts of cruelty and oppression, it would be unjust to measure his career by any standard but an Abyssinian one. From his earliest youth he is said to have conceived ambitious ideas, which stopped at nothing short of the sovereignty over the whole of Ethiopia, including the sea coast, and the establishment of Christianity in every part of that vast dominion. Nor were his schemes merely selfish, like those of the barbarous chiefs who surrounded him, for he was actuated by fanatical religious zeal, and at first by a sincere desire to give prosperity to his subjects. At the date of his assumption of the regal title, Theodore was thirty-seven years of age, of medium stature, but with a well-knit muscular frame capable of enduring any amount of fatigue—a noble bearing and majestic walk—and he was the best shot, the best spearman, the best runner, and the best horseman in Abyssinia. Consul Plowden heard of his accession at Massowa, in March 1855, and at once proceeded to

join the camp of the new sovereign, with the full subsequent approbation of the Foreign Office; and he found that his friend and companion Mr. Bell, who had long been in the country, and had married an Abyssinian lady of good family in Bagemder, had already entered the service of the new king. Theodore must have possessed some nobility of character to have acquired the admiration and friendship of such noble fellows as Plowden and Bell. Plowden said of him that he was generous to excess, and free from all cupidity, merciful to his vanquished enemies,[1] and strictly continent; but subject to violent bursts of anger, and possessed of unyielding pride and fanatical religious zeal. His administrative views, at that time, appear to have been far in advance of those entertained by any of his countrymen. His first object was to break the power of the turbulent feudal chiefs, and he placed the soldiers of different provinces under the command of his own trusty followers, to whom he gave high titles. He abolished the slave trade, put an end to vexatious transit dues, by ordering that they were only to be levied at three places in his dominions, and paid his soldiers in order that they might purchase provisions instead of plundering the

[1] Dadjatsh Oobyé, of Tigré, lived for many years at Theodore's court, and died in 1867; while his two sons were imprisoned at Magdala, and only released on the arrival of the English. Dadjatsh Biru Goshu, of Godjam, was also kept in prison at Magdala until the fall of Theodore.

people. Consul Plowden thus concludes his report upon Theodore's character and policy:—"Some of his ideas may be imperfect, others impracticable, but a man who, rising from the clouds of Abyssinian ignorance and childishness, without assistance and without advice, has done so much, and contemplates such large designs, cannot be regarded as of an ordinary stamp." At that time he had the benefit of the society of Bell and Plowden, from whose conversations he no doubt acquired much information, and his good genius, the beautiful Tawâbetch, was still alive. At the crisis of his fate he lost all these true friends, opposition maddened him, the worst parts of his character were developed, he became a changed man, abandoned self-control, was made drunk by despotism and irresponsible power, and was lost. But in 1855, a glorious career seemed to be opening before him.

Had Theodore contented himself with the sovereignty over Tigré and Amhara, he was strong enough to have maintained his power in those great provinces; but his hot zeal for Christianity led him to exhaust his strength against the Gallas, and this was probably one of the chief causes of his ruin. He declared that he would first conquer the Gallas, who had seized on Christian lands and destroyed churches, and that then the Mussulmans in Abyssinia would have the option of being baptized or of leaving the country. He first

appointed the Balgada Araya,[1] a grand nephew of the old Râs Walda Selassyè, to govern Tigré, but replaced him in a few months afterwards by Kâsa, the son of Sabagadis; and in the autumn of 1855 he commenced his first campaign against the Gallas.

The Wallo Gallas, inhabiting the lofty plateaux of Worra-haimano, Tanta, and Dáunt, along the banks of the Beshilo, were then ruled by a queen named Warkit. Theodore marched to the Beshilo, and defeated a chief named Adara Billé (the same man who had robbed poor Dr. Krapf some years before) with horrible slaughter. The Gallas fled to their strongholds; and it was then that Theodore selected Magdala, an *amba* or natural fortress, beyond the Beshilo, and in the midst of the Wallo Gallas, not only as an outpost to keep these wild tribes in check, but as his own principal stronghold. Queen Warkit had unwisely neglected to assist Adara Billé, and the storm next fell upon her. Theodore then led his army to the great southern province of Shoa; the King, Haila Malakot,[2] died suddenly; Ankobar, the capital, was

[1] A balgada is a chief of a salt caravan. Araya is the son of Dadjatsh Dimtsu, of Enderta, by a sister of Sabagadis. Dimtsu was a son of Aytu Debbib, the younger brother of Râs Walda Selassyè. Some of his intrigues, and his horrible death, are related by Pierce. Araya was a most audacious partisan chief, and many of his exploits are told in the second volume of Mansfield Parkyns's charming book. He was afterwards imprisoned at Magdala by King Theodore, where we found him when the place was captured by the British force.

[2] Literally, "Power of the Godhead." He was a son of Sahela Selassyè

taken; and the conqueror returned with the guns presented to the King by Major Harris, and with young Menilek, the heir of Shoa, who was brought up with Theodore's natural son Mashesha.

During Theodore's absence in this campaign against Shoa and the Gallas, a chief named Tadla Gualu rebelled in Godjam; and another chief, named Agow Negûsyé,[1] of Semyen (a grandson of old Dadjatsh Oobyé by a daughter), made himself independent in Tigré, and even extended his dominion as far as Gondar, in August 1855. He was supported by the Roman Catholic and French interests: Father de Jacobis established himself at Halai, at the head of the Taranta Pass, leading to Massowa; and the French consul, M. Belliard, had an interview with Negûsyé, at Dixa. The French Government acknowledged him as King of Abyssinia, and he ceded Zulla and the island of Dissé, at the entrance of Annesley Bay, to them; but when Captain Russel, of a French frigate, ascended to the highlands, on a mission, the power of Negûsyé was on the wane. The French officer was surrounded at Halai by some troops led by the chief of Dixa, and with difficulty escaped during the night; while the brave and noble-hearted Father de Jacobis died, near Massowa, in February 1860. Thus this French intrigue came to an end.

(Clemency of the Trinity), who was king at the time of Major Harris's embassy.

[1] Literally, "My king," a name given by his mother.

Consul Plowden had remained at Theodore's camp, and afterwards at Gondar, during all this time, detained at first through illness, and afterwards on account of the difficulty of passing through Tigré during Negûsyé's rebellion; but at last he set out, in March 1860. At that time Theodore's cousin, Garred of Kuâra, had joined Negûsyé's rebellion. This chief intercepted Plowden near Gondar, and he was taken prisoner mortally wounded. His friend Theodore at once raised the ransom of $1,000 from the Gondar merchants, and effected his release; but he died a few days afterwards. Thus perished this adventurous traveller and able public servant. He identified himself with Theodore, "threw in his lot with him," as he himself says; and all his acts were, at the time, fully approved by Lord Clarendon, who was then in charge of the Foreign Office. His brother justly complains of the way his memory has been treated. "In England," he says, "his melancholy end excited no attention; nor did his superiors express any commiseration for his untimely fate, nor any sympathy with his relatives for their great loss. On the contrary, his honest and able services were forgotten; and when recent events brought his name prominently before the public, disparagement of his services and aspersions on his character were resorted to by officials who hoped to find, in a dead man, a safe scapegoat for their own shortcomings." Theodore terribly avenged his death;

he attacked the rebels, and his gallant friend, the Lika Makwass Bell, though he slew Garred, was killed in shielding the person of the King himself. This second loss exasperated Theodore beyond control; he killed Garred's brother with his own hand, and made a ghastly heap of more than a thousand mutilated rebel dead.

The King then marched into Tigré, to put down the insurrection which had so long been rampant in that great division of Abyssinia. Negûsyé had, in fact, been virtually independent since 1856. Early in 1861 the armies of Theodore and Negûsyé were face to face at Sagamo, near Axum. In the dead of night a messenger secretly proclaimed in the camp of the ill-fated rebel that a free pardon would be granted to all that deserted their leader. The craven host fled in the night. Negûsyé went to sleep a leader of a numerous army; when he awoke, he was alone. He burst into tears, then mounted his mule, and fled away, with his brother Tesama, to the mountains of Tembyen, in the far south of Tigré. Here they were captured, and the inhuman tyrant Theodore treated them both alike. One hand and one foot was cut off each, and in that condition they were exposed in the sun until they died, no man daring even to give them a drop of water. Tesama died in a few hours, but Negûsyé lingered until the third day. Kâsa, the son of Sabagadis, was then again appointed governor of Tigré. His beau-

tiful daughter, the fair Averash,[1] was the widow of Tesfa Tsion (son of Dadjatsh Hailu, the present ruler of Hamasyen), who had been killed by Negûsyé, in 1859. Tawâbetch was now dead, and Averash became the King's concubine, thus securing the government of Tigré for her father; but both Kâsa and his daughter died soon afterwards, in the camp of Theodore, at Mahdera Mariam. Theodore's next ruler of Tigré was Dadjatsh Sahelu, of Geralta, from 1861 to 1863; but in the latter year he was sent off in chains to Magdala, and replaced by Râs Báreâi, a chief of Shiré, who had married Theodore's sister. They had a child named Yainishut, whom Theodore afterwards nominated to be the future ruler of Tigré; the chiefs who were to act for him being his father's brother, Tekla Georgis, and Azmatsh Báreâi, of Asha.

King Theodore was now at the height of his power. The Tigré rebel was dead, Tadla Gualu, of Godjam, was driven to seek réfuge in an impregnable *amba*, and an army of upwards of 150,000 men was assembled round the royal camp at Debra Tabor. At about this time Theodore married his second wife Terunesh,[2] or Tserunesh, the proud daughter of Dadjatsh Oobyé, who felt neither affection nor respect for the upstart

[1] "Averash" means, literally, "You have brought light."

[2] Literally, "Thou art pure." Theodore afterwards changed her name to Teru-wark, "Pure gold."

who had dethroned her father, and thrown her brothers into prison. Both the King's English friends were now dead; he had also lost his beloved Tawâbetch; he was surrounded by evil and ignorant councillors; and all his good points were giving place to hardened pride, suspicion, and impatience of opposition. In 1862 he made a second expedition against the Gallas, which was stained with atrocious cruelty. He carried a war of extermination into their country, devastated the fields, burnt the villages, sold women and children into slavery, and cut off the hands and feet of many fighting men. The unhappy Queen Warkit was forced to deliver up her only son Ahmed as a hostage, who was sent to the fortress of Magdala.

Meanwhile the news of Consul Plowden's death had reached England, and the Government, having resolved to persevere in the policy of cultivating friendly relations with Abyssinia, appointed Captain Cameron to succeed him. An Italian, named Barroni,[1] had acted for Mr. Plowden at Massowa, during his absence in the interior, and Captain Cameron took over the consular archives from him on arriving at that port, on February 10th, 1862. Captain Cameron was directed to consider Massowa as the head-quarters of his Consulate, and he was instructed to avoid becoming a partisan of any of the contending parties in Abyssinia. But he was distinctly ordered to proceed to

[1] Since dead.

the camp of King Theodore to present to him a rifle, a pair of pistols, and a letter in the Queen's name, thanking him for his exertions in ransoming the body of Mr. Plowden. Moreover, he is spoken of in this letter as the Queen's Consul *in Abyssinia*, and as the successor to Mr. Plowden. The Duke of Saxe Coburg had visited Massowa and its neighbourhood in the spring of 1862, and he also entrusted Captain Cameron with a letter and a decoration to be presented to the King. Consul Cameron, leaving a Mr. Walker as Vice-Consul at Massowa, arrived at the camp of Theodore on the 7th of October, 1862, at a time when he was making war upon the rebel Tadla Gualu, in Godjam, and was very well received. The King related to him the circumstances of Consul Plowden's death, said that he had executed 1,500 of Garred's followers to win the friendship of the Queen of England, and spoke with extreme bitterness of the encroachments of the Turks and Egyptians. Theodore's dominant idea appears to have been the destruction of the Muhammedan power, first by crushing the Gallas, and then by driving the Turks from the Abyssinian seaports, and from his western frontier about Matamma.

Captain Cameron found a great number of Europeans assembled at the court of the Abyssinian king, or within his power. Bishop Gobat, of Jerusalem, had conceived the idea, some years before, of sending

lay missionaries into the country; and old Dr. Krapf had once more visited the scene of his early adventures, accompanied by a Mr. Flad, in 1855, had had an interview with Theodore and with the Abûna, and had arranged that several such men should proceed to Abyssinia. Accordingly six workmen came out, named Flad, Waldmeier, Saalmüller, Bender, Meyer, and Keinzlin. Theodore, however, wanted their work, and not their preaching. He established them at a place called Gaffat, near Debra Tabor, and employed them exclusively on the manufacture of various warlike appliances and on road-making. There were also four missionaries, named Stern, Rosenthal, Brandeis, and Staiger, in Dembea; and several adventurers at Gaffat and in the King's camp—namely, Zander, a painter, and native of Anhalt Dessau; Moritz Hall, a Pole, formerly in the Russian army; Bourgaud, a French gunsmith; Mackerer, a discharged French soldier; Bardel, a discharged French servant of Captain Cameron's; and Schiller and Essler, two huntsmen who came out with the Duke of Saxe Coburg, and remained to collect birds. Rosenthal, Flad, and Bourgaud, had European wives with them. Waldmeier and Saalmüller married each a daughter of Mr. Bell by his Abyssinian wife; Bender and Keinzlin were married to two daughters of old Mr. Schimper, the German botanist, who had been a quarter of a century in the country, and who came from Tigré

to the King's camp at about this time; and Zander, Moritz, and Meyer married Abyssinian or Galla women: so that there was a complete European colony at Gaffat and Debra Tabor.

In November Consul Cameron was dismissed with a letter from King Theodore to the Queen of England, which was forwarded by way of Aden, and reached the Foreign Office on February 12th, 1863. The letter contained a proposal to send an embassy to England, and a request that an answer might be forwarded through Consul Cameron. On its arrival it was put on one side, and no answer was sent to Theodore.[1] At the same time the King sent the

[1] The following is the text of this now famous letter:—

"In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, one God in Trinity, the chosen by God, King of Kings, Teôdoros of Ethiopia to her Majesty Victoria, Queen of England. I hope your Majesty is in good health. By the power of God I am well. My fathers the Emperors had forgotten our Creator, He handed over their kingdom to the Gallas and Turks. But God created me, lifted me out of the dust, and restored this Empire to my rule. He endowed me with power, and enabled me to stand in the place of my fathers. By His power I drove away the Gallas. But for the Turks, I have told them to leave the land of my ancestors. They refuse. I am now going to wrestle with them. Mr. Plowden, and my late Grand Chamberlain, the Englishman Bell, used to tell me that there is a great Christian Queen, who loves all Christians. When they said to me this, 'We are able to make you known to her, and to establish friendship between you,' then in those times I was very glad. I gave them my love, thinking that I had found your Majesty's goodwill. All men are subject to death, and my enemies, thinking to injure me, killed these my friends. But by the power of God I have exterminated those enemies, not leaving one alive, though they were of my own family, that I may get, by the power of God, your friendship.

"I was prevented by the Turks occupying the sea-coast from sending you

adventurer Bardel, who had entered his service, with a letter to the French Emperor.

On his way to the coast, Captain Cameron, who was accompanied by a Baldaraba (or "introducer") named Ayto Samuel, received intelligence which led him to proceed to a district called Bogos, instead of going straight back to Massowa. Bogos is a small Abyssinian province inhabited by Christians, at the extreme north-east corner of the table-land, and nearly surrounded by Egyptian territory. The black Shankelas, and other tribes in the lowlands, under Egyptian rule, had been in the habit of making raids into Bogos, driving off sheep and cattle, burning villages, and stealing women and children to be sold as slaves. A Roman Catholic missionary named Stella had long lived at Keren in Bogos, and had done what he could, by representation and protests, to protect his unfortunate flock. Consul Cameron also found that the Christians of Bogos had been under the special protection of England during the time

an Embassy when I was in difficulty. Consul Cameron arrived with a letter and presents of friendship. By the power of God I was very glad hearing of your welfare, and being assured of your amity. I have received your presents, and thank you much.

"I fear that if I send ambassadors with presents of amity by Consul Cameron, they may be arrested by the Turks.

"And now I wish that you may arrange for the safe passage of my ambassadors everywhere on the road.

"I wish to have an answer to this letter by Consul Cameron, and that he may go with my Embassy to England. See how the Islam oppress the Christian."

of his predecessor, and that intercession with the Egyptian Government had been made in their favour. He therefore considered it to be his duty to proceed to Bogos, when he heard that fresh inroads were threatened. Unfortunately, he forgot that the first duty of a modern British consul is not to protect oppressed Christians, but to keep everything quiet, and to encourage trade. His conduct would almost make it look as if he thought himself another Ambassador Lockhart, and that Thurloe and Milton were at the Foreign Office: a very fallacious dream indeed, from which he was soon to be rudely awakened.

On the contrary, Earl Russell was at the Foreign Office, and his policy was the direct opposite of that of the great man who employed Thurloe and Milton. Instead of protecting Abyssinia from the Turks, it seemed to him a preferable course to withdraw as much as possible from Abyssinian alliances. His policy was founded entirely on the desire to promote trade, and he trusted that interference on behalf of a Christian country, as such, would never be the policy of the British Government.[1]

From Bogos Captain Cameron went to Kassala, the capital of the Egyptian Pashalic of the Soudân, to press the claims of the people of Bogos; and thence to Matamma, an Egyptian post on the western frontier

[1] Despatch to Colonel Stanton, October 5th, 1865.

of Abyssinia, with the object of informing himself of the state of affairs in the border lands between the Christians and Moslems. He also visited these places with a view to collecting information respecting their trade, which had been called for by the Foreign Office.[1] In May 1863, Mr. Walker having been appointed Vice-Consul at Tripoli, Consul Cameron nominated a Mr. Speedy,[2] whom he met at Kassala, and who had been for a few months at Theodore's court, to act for him during his absence from Massowa, instructing him, on his road from Kassala to Massowa, to warn all the chiefs against making raids upon Abyssinian villages on the frontier. Captain Cameron was attacked with severe illness at Matamma,—he was unequal to the long journey through the unhealthy Egyptian territory by Kassala to Massowa,—and he therefore determined to return to Abyssinia, so as to obtain medicine and aid from the missionaries, and to recruit his health in a cool climate. He also expected the arrival of an answer to the King's letter, with reference to the proposed embassy, and considered it desirable that he should be on the spot when it came. Accordingly he reached the missionary station of Djenda, in Dembea, in August 1863.

A French consul, M. Lejean, had arrived in Abys-

[1] Despatch dated January 8th, 1863.

[2] Mr. Speedy had been a Lieutenant in the 81st, and afterwards Adjutant of the 10th Punjaub Infantry, from 1858 to 1860. He left the army to settle in New Zealand, but visited Abyssinia on his way.

sinia in December 1862, accompanied by a Dr. Lagarde, and an Englishman named Dufton.[1] He was well received by Theodore at his camp in Godjam; but, on being refused an audience for the purpose of soliciting his dismissal, he attempted to force his way into the King's presence. The consequence was that he was put in irons for the rest of the day, and afterwards sent to Gaffat.

At about this time the Frenchman Bardel, who had not been considered a fit person to be received as an envoy at Paris, returned with loud complaints of the way he, as the bearer of King Theodore's letter, had been treated. Theodore considered that he had been slighted by the French Emperor and his representative, and ordered M. Lejean to leave the country. That official set out from Gondar on October 2d, 1863.[2]

M. Lejean went away just in time. In the same month Theodore became enraged against the two missionaries Stern and Rosenthal. The former was flogged, his papers were seized, and passages in a

[1] Mr. Dufton was a Yorkshireman, son of an eminent cloth merchant in Leeds. He returned by Adowa and Massowa, and published an agreeable account of his travels: "Narrative of a Journey through Abyssinia, in 1862-63. By Henry Dufton." He was afterwards attached to the Intelligence Department of the Abyssinian Expedition, and was murdered by the Shohos in the Senafé Pass, in June 1868.

[2] He wrote a very entertaining account of his mission in the November and December numbers of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for 1864, and afterwards in a separate book, with marvellous illustrations.

book he had published,[1] speaking disparagingly of the King, were translated. Both these unfortunate men were put in irons, they were publicly tried on November 20th, and, though their lives were spared, they were kept close prisoners. Early in 1864 a young Irishman, named Kerans, whom Consul Cameron had appointed as his secretary, arrived with long expected despatches from England, which were seen by the King. His wrath may be imagined when he found that there was no reply to his letter, but merely a short despatch of a few lines to Captain Cameron, ordering him to return at once to Massowa.

Looking at the state of affairs at this juncture from Theodore's stand-point, it must be acknowledged that he had very strong grounds of complaint. His mind was incessantly occupied by the aggressions of the Turks and Egyptians, and many circumstances combined to induce the belief that their designs were favoured by the English. Among these were the withdrawal of protection to the Abyssinians in Jerusalem,[2] and the visit of Consul Cameron to the Egyptian

[1] Wanderings among the Falashas. By the Rev. H. A. Stern. 1862.

[2] The Abyssinian pilgrims to Jerusalem were never actually under British protection; but they were persecuted and ill-treated by the Armenians and Copts, and both Lord Malmesbury and Lord Russell instructed the British Consul to use his good offices in their favour, at the express request of Râs Ali and Dadjatsh Oobyé. These instructions were reported to Râs Ali, and afterwards to Theodore, and England got the credit of protecting the Abyssinians without ever having done much to deserve it. But, in 1863, the Turks unjustly decided a dispute respecting the right to

Pashas at Kassala and Matamma. Add to this the crowning insult of treating his letter to the Queen with silent contempt. Only one mode of retaliation was open to him, and he adopted it. In January 1864 Consul Cameron and all his suite, consisting of young Kerans, the Italian servant Pietro, and an Irish lad named McKilvie, were seized and imprisoned. Cameron, with Stern and Rosenthal, was afterwards tortured with ropes, to extort a confession as to who had told the stories against the King in Stern's book, and soon afterwards they were all sent to the fortress of Magdala and put in irons.

It does not appear that the conduct of Consul Cameron, in the course of these transactions, is open to censure. His first visit to King Theodore, to present the letter and presents, was undertaken in obedience to distinct orders from the Foreign Office. His journey to Bogos was made with a view to intervening in favour of oppressed Christians who had already received protection from English officials; and his further journeys to Kassala and Matamma were undertaken, partly with reference to the affairs of Bogos, and

the Abyssinian church and convent, in favour of the Copts. The Pasha refused to listen to any representation from the British Consul, declaring that the Abyssinians were Turkish subjects, and English good offices proved to be worthless. Then it became a common saying in Jerusalem that formerly the Abyssinians were under the protection of the British Government, and that then they were able to worship at Jerusalem, but that now they have been discharged from that protection. This, of course, came to the ears of Theodore.

partly in obedience to orders from the Foreign Office, that he should furnish full information respecting the commerce of those parts. His return to Abyssinia, setting aside the fact that the state of his health necessitated that return, would appear to have been perfectly right and proper, in order that he might be on the spot when the reply of the English Government arrived respecting the proposed embassy. That reply never came, but in its place a brief despatch arrived and was seen by King Theodore, ordering the Consul not to meddle in the affairs of Abyssinia, and to return at once to Massowa. Thus the main cause of the imprisonment of the English Consul was the omission to take any notice of Theodore's letter; and it is as ungenerous as it is erroneous to attempt to throw any portion of the blame on the unfortunate victim of this omission. The discourteous omission to answer the letter was a perfectly just reason for Theodore's anger; and there can be no doubt that, if he had received a civil reply, which would have had the effect of explaining away Cameron's visit to the Turks, there would never have been any reason for spending several millions on an Abyssinian expedition.

In 1864, after the rainy season, King Theodore marched to Magdala accompanied by the Abûna, with whom he had long been on terms of open enmity. He left him a prisoner in the fortress when he led an

army against the revolted province of Shoa, and there the great ecclesiastic remained until his death. It was in July 1865 that young Menilek, the heir of Shoa, escaped from Magdala, and became the sovereign of an independent kingdom.[1] The King watched him with his glass, and saw that he was received by a large body of Gallas on the opposite side of the plateau, which so infuriated the tyrant that he caused all his Galla prisoners to be massacred and hurled over a precipice, including Ahmed, the son of the Queen Warkit.

The character of Theodore was now quite changed. His early virtues were obscured, and irresponsible power had turned his head. He had become excessively suspicious, cruel, proud, sensuous, and intemperate. Estranged from his high-minded wife, a fat Galla widow, named Yatamanyu,[2] had become his favourite among many concubines, and almost every afternoon he was more or less excited by *tej* or *araki*. His attempt to maintain an enormous standing army led to exorbitant demands upon the people, while the slightest opposition to his will was the signal for atrocious cruelties perpetrated on the villagers. This state of things could not last for ever. Rebellions broke out in all parts of the country, and there was a

[1] Menilek's family had reigned in Shoa for nine generations. It was founded by Nagasi, who made himself independent of the Negûs of Abyssinia some 250 years ago.

[2] Literally, "She whom they have longed for."

universal desire to be rid of the tyrant. Shoa had already shaken off his yoke, and young Menilek had become its king; Godjam was virtually independent; and a chief named Tirsu Gobazyé had got possession of Walkeit and Semyen; but the most formidable insurrection was that headed by the Wakshum Gobazyé.[1]

It will be remembered that, when the last king of the House of Zaguê abdicated in favour of the representative of the ancient royal family, he received the government of Wag, and his descendants continued to rule that small province unmolested for several centuries. Wakshum Confu was the head of the family in the time of Râs Walda Selassyé, and defended his territory successfully against the attacks of the Yadjow Gallas under Râs Guksa. He was succeeded by his son, Wakshum Wassan, in the government of Wag. After a reign of some years, the latter was murdered by a slave, and Théodore, who was always jealous of Wassan's son Teferrî, gave the province to Gabra Medhin,[2] a son of a daughter of old Confu; and kept the rightful heir, Teferrî, in his own camp. Teferrî commanded about 10,000 cavalry for Theodore, until about three years ago, when he was disgraced and immured in the prison of Magdala. Gabra Medhin married a sister of Dadjatsh Mashesha, the chief of Lasta, and had two sons named

[1] "My youth:" a name given by his mother.

[2] Gabra, "servant," and Medhin, "of the Saviour."

Gobazyé and Biru. Wakshum Gabra Medhin was tortured and afterwards hanged by Theodore, on suspicion of treason, and his young sons fled to the Galla country, swearing to avenge their father's death. In 1865, Wakshum Gobazyé returned from his exile to Lasta, and soon found himself at the head of a large army. His widowed mother had married Dadjatsh Walda Kêrlos, the powerful chief of Wadela, who assisted the young rebel with reinforcements; while his uncle Mashesha brought his Lasta followers to swell the insurgent force. Theodore found himself wholly unable to stem this great insurrection, and was obliged to remain inactive in Bagemder, devastating the country to obtain food for his troops, who nevertheless deserted in large numbers. Having established his power in Lasta, Wag, and the country about Lake Ashangi, the Wakshum Gobazyé invaded Tigré in 1866, occupied Adowa, and overran the whole country; Theodore's governor, Báreái, retiring before him. When Gobazyé retired out of Tigré, early in 1867, and returned to Lasta to watch the movements of King Theodore, he left Dadjatsh Deraso, of Agamé, and young Dadjatsh Kâsa, of Tembyen, his lieutenants. On his departure, Deraso was defeated by Tekla Georgis, who still adhered to Theodore, and Báreái occupied Adowa; but Tekla Georgis soon afterwards died in his native province of Shiré.

The career of Kâsa, who had been left as one of the

Wakshum's lieutenants in Tigré, has been very remarkable. Kâsa's father was Dadjatsh Mercha, the chief of Tembyen, in Tigré; and his mother was a daughter of Dadjatsh Dimtsu, of Enderta (a nephew of Râs Walda Selassyé), by a sister of Sabagadis. He thus comes of all the best blood in Tigré. After the death of his parents, young Kâsa appears to have lived a good deal with the Taltal tribes, in the low country to the eastward of the Abyssinian plateau, where he chose a wife. He was also once at the camp of Theodore; but his life had been uneventful until the Wakshum Gobazyé made him a Dadjazmatsh, and appointed him governor of Enderta. Since then his rise to power has been extraordinarily rapid. His patron returned to Lasta in 1866. In the spring of 1867 the ambitious young lieutenant rebelled, defeated his colleague Dadjatsh Deraso in a hard-fought battle on the plain of Haramât, and made himself master of all the country from Agamé to the frontier of Lasta. For a few months he remained quiet, apparently coquetting with Theodore, who was anxious to propitiate this formidable enemy of his rival Gobazyé. But in the autumn of 1867 he advanced rapidly upon Adowa, and defeated the troops of Báreâi, at Gurré, near Debra Sina, in October. He had a large body of Azebo Gallas as auxiliaries, who committed some atrocities in the pursuit; but he himself was humane and generous to the vanquished. Kâsa's success was stained with no cruelties; all the

chiefs of Tigré quietly submitted to him, and he became sovereign of that great northern division of Abyssinia.

While Theodore's power was thus slipping from his grasp, the news of Consul Cameron's imprisonment had created a great sensation in England. Mr. Speedy, who had been left in charge of the Consulate at Massowa, had suddenly taken his departure for New Zealand, in January 1864; and the whole conduct of Abyssinian affairs devolved upon Colonel Merewether, the Political Resident at Aden. It could not have fallen into better hands; and from the 21st of April, 1864, when he announced the imprisonment of Captain Cameron, to April 1868, when that unfortunate officer and his fellow-sufferers were released, Colonel Merewether has been the life and soul of all the measures which have terminated in such complete success; first, in negotiation, until that resource was exhausted, and then in the political conduct of the expedition.

When too late, the English Government determined to send an answer, signed by the Queen, in reply to King Theodore's long-neglected letter, and Mr. Rassam was selected to be its bearer. This gentleman (who is a native of Mosul, in Mesopotamia) had been Mr. Layard's assistant during the operations connected with excavations at Nineveh, where his knowledge of Arabic had enabled him to render very valuable assistance. He had since been Assistant to the Poli-

tical Resident at Aden; and in June 1864 he was selected as the British Envoy to convey the Queen's letter to King Theodore, and negotiate the release of the Consul. He was accompanied by Dr. Blanc, of the Bombay Medical Establishment; and Lieutenant Prideaux, a young officer who had also been serving as a Political Assistant at Aden, was afterwards added to the mission. The story of this memorable mission cannot be better told than by one of its members, and the next chapter contains an able and well-condensed narrative by Lieutenant Prideaux.

CHAPTER III.

THE MISSION AND CAPTIVITY OF MR. RASSAM AND HIS COMPANIONS.

By LIEUTENANT W. F. PRIDEAUX, *of the Bombay Staff Corps.*

THE mission, to which had been entrusted the task of conveying and delivering a letter from her Majesty to King Theodore, demanding the release of Consul Cameron and the other Europeans held in captivity, consisted of Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, Dr. Blanc, and myself. The former, well known in connexion with the discoveries made at Nineveh by Mr. Layard, and who had for some years filled the position of Assistant to the Political Resident at Aden, had been selected for this duty on account of his presumed knowledge of the native character and habits, which were considered peculiarly to fit him for any negotiations demanding great tact and delicacy. He arrived at Massowa in July 1864, and immediately despatched a messenger with a letter for the King, in which he requested permission to present himself at his court.

Neither this, nor another which he forwarded a few months subsequently, however, elicited any reply.

At this time the office of chief steward of the King's household was filled by a man who had already been much mixed up with the quarrels of Theodore with the Europeans in the country, and was destined to exercise afterwards a powerful influence over the fortunes of the mission. This was Ayto Samuel, a native of Senafé, who, after having been employed in various petty negotiations by Sahela Selassyé, of Shoa, had, after the downfall of that kingdom, attached himself to the fortunes of Theodore, and had been promoted by him to the above post. In March 1865 Mr. Rassam was fortunate enough to secure the services of a cousin of this man, who volunteered to convey a letter to the King, and engaged to bring back an answer. The result exceeded our anticipations. On the 8th of August a letter reached us from his Majesty, bearing, it is true, neither seal nor signature, and couched in curt, uncourteous terms, but still it was sufficient for our purpose. Mr. Rassam, should he still desire to visit the King, was directed to proceed by the route of Matamma. At the same time, the messenger informed us that Consul Cameron had been released from his fetters, though still confined to the Amba, and consequently little less a prisoner than before. On the receipt of this news, which conveyed to us the impres-

sion that it was still with reluctance that the King consented to waive his pride, and admit us into his country, Mr. Rassam decided to proceed to Egypt, and take the instructions of the Home authorities on the matter. These proved to be to the effect that the mission should start at once. After a flying visit to Aden, where letters from the prisoners informed us that, so far from being released, the severity of their treatment had been augmented, and that their hands had been fettered to their feet, we proceeded to Massowa, to complete our preparations for the journey.

After the usual delays incidental to travelling in these regions, we were enabled to make our start on the 15th of October, 1865. The road to Matamma, though one rarely trodden by the foot of the European traveller, presents too few features of general interest to be dwelt on here. The necessity of hastening on with all possible speed added much to the fatigues inseparable from such a journey, and we were glad to arrive at the frontier town which marked the limit of the first stage of our journey.

Our entry into Matamma was made on the 21st of November. This town consists of about 400 houses, constructed in the manner usual in Abyssinia, and is the *entrepôt* of all the commerce which radiates from Darfoor, Kordofan, Sennaar, and Khartoom, on the west, and from Massowa, Souâkin and Egypt, on the north and east. Little of Abyssinian produce, beyond

horses, is brought into the market, but the Egyptian provinces supply large quantities of piece-goods, cutlery, and the small manufactured articles which are always so much in request among semi-barbarian tribes. The slave-trade in Gallas and Shankelas also flourishes to a large extent. The Takroories, of Darfoorian origin, who inhabit the province of Galabât, in which Matamma is situated, are fine, powerful fellows, with well-knit limbs, and excellent horsemen. The cotton, which they cultivate with some care in the vicinity of the town, has a yellowish tinge, is short in staple, and appears to be of good quality.

The district is under the government of a Sheikh, who always comes from the mother-state of Darfoor, and who has to submit to the ceremony of a yearly re-election. This, however, appears to be simply *pro formâ*, as, I believe, a rival candidate for the post never offers himself. The interregnum, which lasts three days, is passed by the Takroories amid scenes of unmixed mirth and pleasure, in which, of course, drinking plays a prominent part. They do not seem to be a quarrelsome race, and crime is certainly not prevalent amongst them. The saturnalia over, they return peaceably to their respective villages and occupations. The Sheikh has to pay an annual tribute, both to Egypt and Abyssinia, as the price of his quasi-independence; and a good portion of the year

is spent by him in his journeys to and from Khartoom and the camp of the Negûs for that purpose.

On his arrival at Matamma, Mr. Rassam lost no time in despatching a letter to the King, acquainting him with the fact, and requesting instructions regarding our further movements. Theodore was at that moment in Damot, and five weeks elapsed before an answer from him reached us. When it did arrive, it proved to be of the most satisfactory nature, informing us that the *shums*, or governors, of all the districts we should traverse in our march had received orders to supply us with every necessary, and that he himself had deputed three officers of rank to escort us, and see that all his injunctions were attended to.

We crossed the Gandwa, the north-western boundary of Christian Abyssinia, on the 28th of December, and a couple of stages further on, near a brook called Belwaha, were joined by the officers of whom mention had been made—three young men, who, curiously enough, were all connected by ties of relationship with chiefs of Magdala. Through their influence and exertions a large body of bearers was collected, so many as twelve hundred being at times necessary. This was on account of the bulky nature of most of the articles intended as presents for the King, and the amount of our own personal baggage and stores, purchased on the calculation of our remaining some months in the country.

Our meeting with these officers, of course, threw much of our responsibility off our shoulders; but our anxiety to push on remained, and it was provoking to contrast the *nonchalance* displayed by our conductors, while on the journey, with our own impatience to become the instruments of release to our imprisoned countrymen. The bearers had to be changed at the frontiers of each district; much time was consumed in collecting them together; and on more than one occasion we were greatly impeded by work being struck altogether. The power of Theodore was but little more than a name in many of the districts through which we passed, and it often required all the personal influence of our escort—who were not without some feudal authority in these parts—to assist us in our progress.

After leaving Tcharkwa, the district in which we first put ourselves under the guidance of the royal officers, our road lay through Tchelga, Taccosa, Wandigê, and Atchafer—all in former times included under the government of Dembea, though the troubled state of the country of late years has enabled them entirely to shake off their dependence on that province. The large and prosperous country of Agow Meder, which we next reached, has never been plundered by Theodore, and was in a high state of cultivation at the time of our visit. It is watered by the rivers Branti and Kilti, and is thickly studded with villages, all rich

and flourishing, the comparatively low elevation of the country permitting all the favourite cereals of the Abyssinians to be grown with facility. It is, as formerly, divided into seven districts, and is, as its name implies, chiefly inhabited by a race of Agows, who, though assimilated to the Abyssinians in religion and customs to a great extent, still retain their own language. They are a fine and warlike race, but, so far as we could judge, inhospitable to strangers. This province was the field in which the long contest for supremacy was waged between Râs Michael and Waragna Fasil, a hundred years ago, which was the death-blow to the old Abyssinian monarchy. One evening we encamped at Bandja, the scene of one of the most sanguinary conflicts between the latter of those chiefs and the Agow allies of the former. On this spot, also, another fight took place, a few years since, between the forces of Tadla Gualu, the revolted chief of Godjam, and those of Theodore, in which the latter were completely victorious. No signs of carnage, however, now remain, and the peaceful labours of the husbandman are overshadowed by groves of magnificent *kosso* trees, the finest I remember to have seen in the country.

The river Fattam separates the province of Agow Meder from that of Damot; and it was at Ashfa, a few miles to the southward of this stream, that our first interview with the King took place. As we

gradually approached the vicinity of the camp, considerable, and to us unaccountable, obstacles appeared to delay our progress; but they were got over at last, and on the 25th of January we were informed that we should get ready our uniforms, for that day we should be presented to his Majesty. At a convenient spot we pitched a small tent, and, having properly equipped ourselves, proceeded onward till we were met by Râs Engeda, the chief favourite of Theodore, and Ayto Samuel, who had with them a mule splendidly caparisoned after the Abyssinian mode, and who brought a message from the King, praying Mr. Rassam to accept the present he had just despatched, and proceed to the tent made ready for his reception.

The camp of Theodore was pitched round a large open plain, on one side of which was situated the royal tent, as usual on an eminence overlooking the surrounding country. At the time of our arrival, this plain was covered by a large concourse of horsemen, who, by special command, had turned out to welcome us. The barbaric splendour of Abyssinian chivalry was conspicuous on this occasion: each officer was dressed in his gayest silken shirt, many bearing on their right wrists the *bitawa*, or silver-gilt armlet (the badge of valour), and followed by their esquires, bearing lance and shield. In this manner about four hundred chiefs preceded us to the spot where a tent had been pitched for our reception, and the rear was

closed in by a motley array of spearmen and musketeers, and chieftains of a lower grade. On arriving at our tent, baskets of *teff* bread and jars of strong *tej* were brought to us; and a letter was shortly afterwards conveyed to us by Ayto Samuel from the King, in which the latter expressed his regret at not being able to welcome us in person that day. Curiosity, however, soon prevailed over pride; for we had scarcely finished our repast when another message was received to the effect that we should make ready at once to proceed to the royal presence.

After surmounting the first rugged inequalities of the road, we beheld a small silken tent, pitched at the extremity of a lane of musketeers, drawn up in two files, and extending about fifty yards, who saluted us with a *feu-de-joie* as we walked between their ranks. The usual greetings were thrice repeated as we advanced, our conductor, Ayto Samuel, bowing to the ground as each inquiry was made after our health. At length the order was given to us to enter the tent, and we found ourselves in the presence of the Negûsyé Nagast Teôderos.

His Majesty was seated on a low *alga*, or couch, at the opposite end of the tent, the whole of his person and most of his face being enveloped in the ample folds of his *shâma*, as is the custom with Abyssinians of rank on high ceremonial occasions. On either side a row of grandees lined the tent, while through an

opening behind the King we discerned a tall fellow with the figure of a gladiator, a couple of pistols in his girdle, and a hand on each weapon. This was Walda Gâbir, the favourite body-servant of his Majesty, and formerly in the employment of M. Barroni, acting British agent at Massowa. The Queen's letter having been presented, and the first few polite inquiries over, the old grievances against Cameron and the missionaries were recurred to, and a conversation on these and kindred topics was entered into, many times to be repeated, with but slight variations, during our subsequent stay. The interview lasted about half an hour, and we then received permission to repair to our tent; not, however, before Theodore had given us to understand that, on account of the friendship he bore her Majesty, it was his intention to release all the Magdala captives. We had scarcely returned, when Ayto Samuel appeared with Alaka Engeda, the King's secretary, and Walda Gâbir, and the task of translating the Queen's letter had to be gone through. This was at last completed, though not, it seems, without grave mistakes in interpretation being committed by the Abyssinians; designedly or not, it is difficult to say.

On the following afternoon, the presents brought by Mr. Rassam on the part of her Majesty were delivered over to the King, and accepted by him with the frank and gracious air he knew so well how to assume on

occasion. The next morning the camp was struck, and Theodore began his progress through the province of Metcha—a march of which every step was marked by burning villages and ruined homesteads—peaceful scenes of husbandry in front, rapine and desolation behind. We accompanied the army for three days; the first morning struggling in the ruck of camp-followers, and afterwards in company with the King himself. He held much conversation with Mr. Rassam on these mornings, and his ideas in general were marked by much uncultivated intelligence, and always, as far as we could see, tending towards a certain end, a wish to know the treatment accorded by European nations to vanquished foes.

On Saturday, the 4th of February, we encamped at Fagitta, a spot memorable for the fight of the 9th December, 1769, between the forces of Râs Michael and Fasil, in which the former was so signally victorious. Another interview took place on Sunday morning. A sum of 5,000 dollars was ordered to be presented, and a letter was written in which assurance was given that the English mission should be allowed to leave the country *in honour and safety.* We took our departure for Kuarâta, the place fixed upon for our residence, on Monday, accompanied by Ayto Samuel, who had been appointed *baldaraba,* or agent, between Rassam and the King, and another favourite of Theodore, named Agafâri Golam, truculent in dis-

position and ill-favoured in person, whose special duty it was to convey the order of release to Magdala. It had been arranged that we should cross over from Wandigê to Kuarâta by water, and on arrival at the former place, after a brief journey of four days, orders were immediately given that boats should be prepared for the reception and conveyance of ourselves and our baggage. These frail skiffs, to which our fortunes for two days were intrusted, and which can have changed but little since the eighteenth chapter of Isaiah was written, merit a few words of description.

The *tankwas*, or Tsâna canoes, are simply constructed of a number of papyrus stalks bound together, for about an average length of nine or ten feet, and terminating in a swan-neck prow. They are propelled, according to their size, by one or two men, with long bamboo paddles, and are barely capable of accommodating a couple of passengers. In these we made our wet and wearisome voyage, only stopping for the night at Dek, a large island of volcanic formation almost in the centre of the sea, and boasting of four villages, with as many churches, and a considerable reputation for sanctity.

The first view of Kuarâta, as approached from the lake, is picturesque in the extreme. To the eye it seems like a terraced hill, covered with the tangled foliage of wild coffee and lemon trees, while here and there the conical top of some house peeps forth, or

58833

the cross-surmounted roof of a church, within its grove of juniper and cedar. Such a spot, did the inhabitants (not here too fortunate) know their own blessings, might fitly become the capital of another Arcadia. But, as everywhere in Abyssinia, such spectacles as this only too surely attract the eye of the destroyer, and when last we heard of Kuarâta, it was a heap of smoking ruins.

On arrival, we were received with much distinction, the whole of the clergy belonging to the town turning out to welcome us with all their ecclesiastical paraphernalia, an honour usually bestowed only upon royalty itself. Being one of the sacred towns of Abyssinia, no mule is ever allowed to defile its narrow and stony lanes with its hoof; but an exception was made in our favour, and we rode to the lodgings which were prepared for us in the houses of two of the principal merchants of the place. In these, however, we found it impossible to reside with comfort, and we were permitted, on our representations, to take up our abode in tents on the rocky shores of the lake, nearly opposite the green and holy island of Medhâni Alam.[1]

Agafâri Golam soon departed on his errand of mercy, and we were left with scarcely an employment, except to count the days until our countrymen should arrive. In the interval, messages and letters passed almost

[1] So called from the church erected on it, and dedicated to the "Saviour of the World." No women are allowed to land on this islet.

daily between Theodore, who had taken up his quarters on the opposite promontory of Zagê, and Mr. Rassam, the tenor of which seemed calculated only to ripen and unfold the friendship so auspiciously begun. The European artisans, with their families, also joined us, with the view, as the King intended, of alleviating the ennui we should so naturally feel.

On the 12th of March, the released captives arrived. They were eight in number, and consisted of Consul Cameron; the Rev. Mr. Stern and Mr. Rosenthal, of the London Society for the Conversion of the Jews; Mr. Kerans, a young Irishman, who had entered the country as secretary to Cameron; M. Bardel, a Frenchman, who, after having been employed in the same capacity as Kerans, had afterwards accepted service under Theodore, and after having been sent by him as an envoy to France, had gained considerable notoriety by his conduct in reference to the other Europeans, and yet had subsequently incurred the King's displeasure, and had been treated not a whit better than those he was said to have betrayed; Mackerer, a discharged French soldier from Alsace; David Pietro, an Italian, who had also formerly served in the army; and McKilvie, a youth, who had left Ireland with Mr. Speedy. The three last were in Cameron's service at the time of their imprisonment. Mrs. Rosenthal, who had always been with her husband; Mr. and Mrs. Flad, two missionaries of the

London Society for the Conversion of the Jews; and a couple of Jägers, who had come into the country to collect specimens of natural history for the Duke of Saxe Coburg, made up the tale of the Europeans.

During the month following their arrival, with one exception, nothing tended to excite our suspicions. We were allowed to do pretty much as we liked; shooting and riding within a short distance were not interdicted; and the only circumstance which caused us any anxiety was the arrival of a letter from Theodore, with charges against the late captives, and instructions to Mr. Rassam to hold a sort of trial, at which, of course, the prisoners unhesitatingly confessed their guilt, and showed the proper amount of compunction. But this comedietta was rendered less interesting than it would otherwise have been, by the fact that in his letter the King developed the idea which must have been long lingering in his mind, and requested Mr. Rassam to be good enough to open his eyes by sending to Europe for some artisans. In reply, Mr. Rassam expressed his willingness to do all that his Majesty wished, but suggested that the better course would be for himself personally to prefer the request in England. No notice was taken of this note, and the affair seemed to have blown over, especially as, in an interview which we shortly afterwards had with the King at Zagê, his whole conduct and demeanour were only adapted to reassure us, and

convince us of his honest intention to act up to the word he had passed to us.

But this feeling of security was doomed to pass away as quickly as an Indian summer. The 13th of April had been the day fixed for the departure of us all, and it was arranged that the released captives should go round the eastern side of the lake, until they arrived at Tankal, in Taccosa, while the mission were to pay a last visit to Zagê, and, after making their adieux to the monarch, join their companions by the eastern route. The very last obstacle in the way of our success appeared to have vanished, and it was with light hearts, and without the shadow of a suspicion in our minds, that we arose on the morning of that ill-fated Friday.

A row of about four hours brought us to our destination, and on landing we were received with the same ceremonial as before, Râs Engeda coming down to welcome us, and with him three mules with the customary trappings. We dismounted at the entrance of the royal enclosure, and, preceded by the Râs, walked towards a large house, lately erected as an *adderâsh*, or banqueting-hall. As the Râs bowed to the ground at the door of this building, we naturally concluded that the King was inside, and followed without suspicion. No sooner, however, had we crossed the threshold, than three sturdy fellows, all over six feet in height, pounced upon each of us, and while

they pinioned our arms, our persons were diligently searched by others, doubtless for concealed weapons. While our uniforms were being partially dragged off in this unceremonious fashion, we had time to see that Theodore was not present in the hall, but that it was filled by about 400 of his principal officers, all decked out in their silk and silver. The search concluded, we were forced along to the top of the hall, and directed to sit down. A number of vague and inconsequent questions were then brought to us from the King, the messengers being Ayto Samuel, Alaka Engeda, and Kantiba Hailu, the foster-father of Theodore. The principal one, which bore the character of a charge or accusation, was, "Why did you not bring the prisoners?" To this Mr. Rassam, of course, replied that they had left entirely with his Majesty's sanction, and brought forward as a witness the officer who had conveyed the letter granting them permission to do so. During the time occupied by these interrogatories, our boxes were being carefully overhauled, and all our money and arms were abstracted; our papers were, however, left untouched.

At the conclusion of this trial, as I suppose it must be considered, we were informed that Captain Cameron and his party would be summoned to Zagê, and we were then permitted to retire to a poor and ragged tent, which had been pitched specially for us. In this wretched abode, with the thermometer ranging to

115° during the day, we had to remain from Friday afternoon till Sunday evening, when Mr. Rassam received permission to pitch his own tent. The same day our companions in misfortune arrived. They had been arrested at the first stage, marched two and two together, and conveyed in boats, amid every discomfort, to Zagê. They were not, however, allowed to take up their quarters with us, but were thrust inside a hut within a hedge at a quarter of a mile's distance.

On Monday morning, in presence of all his chiefs, the King held a kind of public trial, at which all his old grievances against the prisoners were recapitulated, and Mr. Rassam, with his companions, had to answer for the crime of Friday. Cameron and Bardel were released from their fetters, but the remainder were led away as they had come. On the following morning, however, they were all unchained, on Mr. Rassam giving his personal security for their good conduct.

The chains off, we were conducted to the King's *adderâsh*. He was alone, with the exception of Râs Engeda, Walda Gâbir, and the European artisans. The officials of the party were ordered to sit down, and Cameron was directed to read a letter which had been forwarded by Dr. Beke from the relatives of the captives; and, after some blasphemous parleying, the King bowed his head, and begged forgiveness from all whom he had wronged. Pardon being reciprocally

asked and granted, the proceedings terminated, and we returned to our tents, which had been re-pitched within a hedge, only that morning constructed by order of Theodore, and within his own enclosure.

The real business of the day, however, was now to commence. A demand was conveyed in a letter from the King to the same effect as that which we had received at Kuarâta, but couched in more peremptory terms. It was difficult, and it was thought at the time, unwise, for Mr. Rassam to refuse compliance. Accordingly, a letter was addressed to the Secretary of State, requesting that artisans, and their necessary implements, should be despatched; and Mr. Flad was selected to be the bearer of this missive. Although we had lost our hope of leaving the country immediately, we anticipated at all events no indignities till Mr. Flad's return, policy so clearly demanding, in every reasonable mind, fair treatment towards us.

Our five weeks' stay at Zagê may be dismissed in very few words. Ostensibly free men, we were yet closely watched; and Mr. Rassam in particular was never allowed to go out without an escort, of which Ayto Samuel and Balambaras Tesamma, the King's equerry, seemed to be *ex officio* members. The latter poor fellow was chained a few months afterwards, dragged in that state from Debra Tabor to Magdala, released two days before the battle of Arogê, and died bravely and loyally on that field.

Cholera having broken out at the end of May, the King resolved to move his camp to Kuarâta. Dr. Blanc, Captain Cameron, and the Rosenthals, who were all in bad health, had already left us, and were comfortably settled in that town. We commenced our march on the 6th of June, our route skirting the southern shore of the Tsâna Sea, through the province of Metcha, until we reached the river Abai, or Blue Nile, which we crossed a few miles below the bridge built by the Portuguese in the seventeenth century.

The army of Theodore at this time numbered some 40,000 fighting men, exclusive of followers, and it was on an occasion like this that the heterogeneous character of the force could be seen to the fullest advantage. The King himself usually rode ahead, with the musketeers following *en masse* behind him, but the cavalry rarely kept any order, and generally galloped about wherever it best suited their convenience. On arriving at the ford, of course a rush was made, each one striving to be before his neighbour in crossing the stream; and foot and horse, the tenderly-nurtured lady on her richly-caparisoned mule, and her sturdy-limbed waiting-maid, with a weighty jar of *tej* upon her back, were all indiscriminately mingled and huddled up together among the turbid and muddy waves which flowed quickly towards the lake over the rough boulders in the river-bed. But accidents seldom occurred, and few amongst

the struggling and writhing throng failed to reach the opposite bank in safety.

On crossing the river, we entered the large and fertile province of Bagemder, and the next day we were able to pitch our tents near our old quarters at Kuarâta. But the cholera followed too, and rapidly overtook us; hundreds, amongst whom was our old friend Agafâri Golam, were stricken the day of our arrival. The King, therefore, listening to advice, determined to march to the higher plateau of Debra Tabor, and we accordingly resumed our journey on the 13th.

Fertile and beautiful is the country which here borders upon the lake, and it is no uncommon thing for three harvests to crown the labours of the fortunate husbandman. Here is the principal seat of the vine-culture in Abyssinia; the grape, supposed to have been originally introduced by the Portuguese, coming to perfection in the neighbourhood of the towns of Ifâg and Mahdera Mariam. Limes and apricots grow abundantly; and this region seems admirably adapted for the growth of cotton and sugar. Two considerable rivers, the Goomâra and the Reb, irrigate the district, the latter of which is the source of the never-failing water supply of Debra Tabor. It is much to be regretted that during the late operations in Abyssinia it was impossible to carry out a survey of this interesting tract, and of the Tsâna Sea, the very shape

of which has never yet been laid down in any map, with even approximate accuracy.

After three days' journey we arrived at the capital, which is merely a large, straggling village, and in a pelting shower of hail were escorted by the King himself to Gaffat, about three miles distant, where the houses and foundries of the European artisans were situated. After having been billeted for one day on the latter, we were able on the 18th to move into houses of our own, which we tried to furnish and render comfortable for the rainy season, believing fully, as we did, that the halcyon days of Kuarâta were again in store for us; at all events, till Mr. Flad's return.

However, just one week had elapsed, when a summons came to us to repair to Debra Tabor, where his Majesty was anxious we should be the spectators of a political trial he was about to hold that morning. However uneasy we might feel, there was no help for it, and in company with Captain Cameron, Mr. Kerans, the missionaries, and the artisans, we started off, and arrived a little before noon. We were not received with the usual welcome, but were ushered into a large black tent, and much the same scene occurred as at Zagê, except that no actual violence was offered. The artisans, with Ayto Samuel and one or two other Abyssinians, were made the bearers of messages of the usual trivial character, this time especially bearing on the King's grievances against the British Government,

who, he pretended to think, were in conspiracy with the Turks, and were assisting them in constructing a railroad for the conveyance of troops against Abyssinia; and also on the personal slights he had received from Cameron and the missionaries. The upshot of it was, that we were informed that, as there was some danger of our committing suicide, it would be better if we were deprived of our arms, and consent to become, for the present, the guests of his Majesty, in the tent he had prepared for us.

With the exception of Dr. Blanc and Mr. Rosenthal, who received permission to return to Gaffat, we were kept in the tent for exactly a week, not in close confinement, as we were allowed to spend a day now and then with the artisans, but under strict *surveillance*. On Tuesday, the 3d of July, we were informed that the King, who had just returned from a visit to Gaffat, desired to speak with us. We accordingly hurried down, and, to our surprise, found Dr. Blanc already arrived, and shortly afterwards Mr. Rosenthal was dragged in by some soldiers, and placed in the same line with us. Theodore, who appeared under the influence of great passion—real or feigned, I cannot say—was seated on the top of a low rock, brandishing his spear and violently gesticulating as he asserted his right to the empires of Alexander and Constantine, and consequently to the sovereignty of India, Jerusalem, and such other portions of the

habitable globe as he knew anything of. He then fell off into the old groove, and commenced the wearisome formulary of charges against Mr. Stern and the others, from the sense of whose iniquities it seemed he could never long keep his mind free. Then turning to an Afa Negûs, who was standing by, he inquired if he could guard us better in the tent, or in the house; and the officer, taking up the cue, of course replied in the latter.

We were then conducted into a building which, I believe, usually served the purpose of a magazine or storehouse; and here, perhaps, we tasted first the bitterness of real captivity. The house, composed of an inner room and a verandah, was totally dark inside; and it was only by the aid of a few candles, held by the soldiers appointed to guard us, that we were able to arrange the scanty bedding with which we were provided. A few messages then passed between Mr. Râssam and the King, in which the former vainly endeavoured to impress upon Theodore's mind the consequences to which he was exposing himself by his rash behaviour. It all, however, appeared to pass unheeded; and, a little later, word was brought us that, as his Majesty was unable to sleep in peace until he had seen his friends, he was about to pay them a visit. Shortly afterwards in he came, accompanied by several servants, bearing *tej* and arrack, in which he insisted on our pledging him. Some desultory

conversation followed for about an hour, chiefly on such topics as the Romish Church, and he then left us to ourselves and the darkness. No favourable change resulted from this visit, and we remained as we were for nearly two days longer, when we received instructions to make ourselves ready to accompany his Majesty on his march against the rebels.

An expedition at this season of the year was what we had been expecting for some time, as we knew that the King quite disregarded the ordinary rules of Abyssinian warfare, and would therefore be all the more likely to pounce upon his enemies during the rains, when troops are nearly always in winter quarters. Had he pursued his original design, there is little doubt that his downfall, which was soon to follow, would have been averted for some time. His army was then strong, his prestige intact, and the large province of Bagemder, which he would have made his base of operations, contained none but those who were friendly towards him. Yet, for some inexplicable reason, he made but three marches, to a place some thirty miles distant, called Aibankab, and, after a stay of a few days there, returned to prey upon Debra Tabor and the surrounding districts. From that day his final ruin may be said to have commenced. No sustenance was procurable for his large force, except what he might obtain in his continual forays; and while deserters from his troops found a ready welcome

at the hands of the disaffected peasantry, whose loyalty soon gave way under his repeated exactions, he could scarcely satiate his wrath by the most unheard-of cruelties and the slaughter of thousands of innocent victims. A war of extermination began, in which the indomitable will and dogged perseverance of one man appeared to hold in check and nullify the hostile attacks of a whole, but disunited population.

It was at Aibankab that, on Monday, the 9th of July, we parted from Theodore, and found that all our doubts were at an end, and that we were really to be conveyed as prisoners to Magdala. Our escort, consisting of about 200 men, was placed under the command of Bitwaddad Tadla, the officer who had arrested the Europeans on leaving Kuarâta. His orders were that the journey was to be made in all haste, and a distance of eighty miles was accordingly accomplished in four days; not, however, without much discomfort. Our baggage was all left behind; and, huddled together in a small tent at night, we had to endure as best we could the cold and wet of an Abyssinian rainy season. Not even our bedding was allowed us, and it is not to be wondered at if we felt some amount of pleasure, uncertain as the future was, as we approached the rocky walls of the fortress which was to be our home for so many months.

The road between Aibankab and the river Jitta is, on the whole, rugged and irregular, and in many

places precipitous, and appears little susceptible of cultivation or improvement. The river Anseta divides the district of that name from Gáhint, at that time governed by Dadjatsh Tesamma Engeda, a brave soldier and devoted servant of the King, about to reap soon the reward of his loyalty and courage by a year's imprisonment and a march to Magdala in fetters. In no small degree, too, was he the friend of the captives in the fortress before our arrival, assisting them much by allowing their messengers to pass through his territory unmolested.

The Jitta crossed, we were in the beautiful province of Dáunt, a strip of level champaign country, about nine miles in width, covered with farms and hamlets, and blessed with everything which constitutes rural happiness and prosperity in Abyssinia. It was under the government of Waddi Yasu, who had very nearly reached the patriarchal age of a hundred, and who was shortly afterwards barbarously murdered by a hostile band of Gallas, under his own roof-tree. On the 12th we crossed the Bashelo, which separates Dáunt from Worra Haimano; and at Arogê, a few miles further on, were met by the mountain militia, which had turned out to welcome the Bitwaddad, and escort him into the fortress.

No one seemed to have a care for us; a convoy of prisoners was no unusual sight, and our only welcome was the prophetic "May God release you!" which

was addressed in token of recognition by the soldiers to those of our party who had before experienced the lot of prisoners upon the Amba.

It was near sunset when, with all the formalities of a gaol, we passed through the second gate, and awaited in anxious expectation the result of the conversation which for some time was carried on between Ayto Samuel and the mountain chiefs. After an interval, we were ushered into a house, in which some slight show of respect was attempted by the carpets which covered the dusty floor. Our party was eight in number, Mr. Rassam, Dr. Blanc, and myself filling the places of Bardel, Mackerer, and McKilvie, who had entered the King's service. There was barely room for us all to extend our limbs upon the ground; but at length we settled our respective rights and places, and, with a native cloth or two for our only bedding, we passed our first night in prison.

No change was made in our condition for three days; but on Monday, the 16th of July, immediately after breakfast, we were informed that the chiefs had come to pay us a visit; and the clank of chains did not leave us long in ignorance as to what their purpose was. As there was no course left us but to submit, we did so with the best grace we could, and the whole business was conducted, by all of those concerned, with the highest decorum. It must be remembered that fetters involve no disgrace in this country: we

were chained simply for the same reason as a dog is tied to his kennel; and it was with an almost affectionate tone of sympathy that the chiefs, on departure, bade us good-morning, with the stereotyped wish that God might soon release us. A few days afterwards we made arrangements regarding the distribution of the houses that were allotted us. Our enclosure was slightly enlarged so as to take in three other huts, in the largest of which Mr. Rassam was installed; Ayto Samuel, who, as *baldaraba*, had to be constantly at hand, occupied the next one; while Dr. Blanc and I took possession of the third, which possessed all the qualities fitting it for an admirably-ventilated stable, in which capacity it had been used previous to our becoming its tenants.

While on this subject, I may say that we were afterwards enabled to make ourselves much more comfortable, so far as house-room went. Our hovel was pulled down in November, and a much larger and more commodious edifice erected on its site. Captain Cameron, Mr. Stern, and Mr. Rosenthal for a considerable time occupied our original abode, subject to the extreme inconvenience of having guards posted inside at night, until some months had elapsed, when first Cameron, and afterwards Mr. Stern received permission to provide themselves with separate tenements; while Kerans and Pietro, although obliged to sleep in the largest house, used ordinarily as a kitchen,

had always tiny habitations for their lares and penates in the daytime.

Of course, after so flagrant and defiant an act of bad faith, our first care was to inform the Government and our friends of what had occurred. To do this considerable caution was required. It was felt both by us and by our servants that any messenger conveying our letters would, if seized, incur the full penalty of the King's vengeance. The Abyssinians are, however, imbued with no little spirit and much love of adventure. The *auri sacra fames*, too, will make them risk much. It was therefore not to be wondered at that we could still find volunteers, who would be willing to carry a letter to the coast, notwithstanding every peril. But, beyond this, the goodwill of the mountain chiefs had also to be obtained. The government of the Amba was vested in a kind of heptarchy, presided over by an officer, who, with the title of Râs, possessed slightly superior powers, but no measure of general interest or importance could be carried out without the full concurrence of the Seven. It was therefore necessary to make friends of them all; no difficult matter in a country where the omnipotence of the dollar is so well appreciated. I will not disparage the keenness of their loyalty; it stood more than one severe test afterwards; but, at all events, it could not withstand the very convincing arguments used by Mr. Rassam for our benefit.

Our first messenger unfortunately proved a failure. A man of a talkative and quarrelsome disposition, he got himself into trouble with some soldiers of the Wakshum Gobazyé at one of the Lasta passes, was stripped and bound, and, of course, our letters suffered with him. On no subsequent occasion did such a mishap occur; and our friends at home, who were much surprised at the regularity with which they received news from us, must attribute it to two causes —the cupidity of our gaolers, and the fidelity of our servants. The sums of money which the latter carried would have rendered them comfortable, if not opulent, for life in Abyssinia; and they deserve the greatest credit for the manner in which they resisted the many temptations which they must have undergone.

As a rule, Englishmen are able to adapt themselves even to the most untoward circumstances with facility, and we soon learnt to lie on our shake-down as we found it. I will confess that I think we lived at Magdala, as far as our creature-comforts were concerned, as well as could be done under any conditions in Abyssinia. We possessed the advantage of having our Indian servants with us, and thus were never of necessity compelled to resort to the messes and nondescript compounds of the native *cuisine*. When we did so, it was from choice; and from personal experience of almost every indigenous dish, I may say that there is scarcely one that would not be thought

palatable by the most fastidious. We found a very fair substitute for beer or wine in *tej*, a kind of mead, which is compounded of honey and water, in the proportion of from four to seven parts of the latter to one of the former, according to the strength required, together with a few leaves of the *gêshu*, a shrub which grows wild in many parts of the country, and possesses a slight narcotic power. The whole is then left to ferment, and it is generally ripe and ready for drinking in five or six days. The best arrack of the country is distilled from *tej*, but inferior kinds are easily procurable from wheat, barley, and *dagoossa* (*Eleusine tocusso*), which is said to produce the best beer, but the worst spirit. Thus, having generally plenty of money, and no restrictions on spending it, we were, I am sure, the objects of envy, rather than of pity, to the half-clad and starving wretches who performed the functions of our guards, and who, brainless and heartless, and quite free from any over-conscientious notion of duty, account it their *summum bonum* to eat and drink, to sleep by night and doze by day.

Magdala possesses a charming climate, and a most equable temperature. Not an evening passed without a brisk wood-fire being kept up in our rooms. The rains, which last from the beginning of July to the middle of September, are much milder than in India and several other parts of Abyssinia, and during their

continuance almost any vegetable, foreign or native, springs up with magical rapidity. We took advantage of every unoccupied nook and corner within our enclosure to fill them with seeds which had been forwarded to us by Colonel Merewether, and were thus enabled to procure an agreeable change to our daily meat-diet. Tomatoes, pease, turnips, and lettuces, I think, proved the most successful. The soil being purely superficial, of course there are no trees of any size upon the mountain, and as in the evening we listlessly leant against the door-post, beyond which we were forbidden to set our foot, there was nothing to interrupt the view which the eye in unrestrained liberty could take of the broad Galla plain, and the still more distant hills on which the hail, then glistening beneath the rays of the setting sun, appeared to rest the whole year round.

Necessity, not inclination, had brought us to this life, and, "fast bound in misery and iron" as we were, our interest in the outer world never flagged. Whenever a messenger arrived from the King at Debra Tabor, speculation ran rife, not, of course, unmixed with anxiety; and we could often find amusement even in the current gossip of the mountain. Until the road to Gaffat was rendered impassable by the insurgents, we constantly maintained communication with our German friends at that place. We were duly posted up in all the events occurring in the

camp; the cruelties, now spontaneous, now retaliatory, committed by both King and rebels; the desertions, sometimes of a chief with all his following, sometimes of a single soldier, only noticeable through its adroitness; the casting of a new gun or mortar; the imprisonment of some officer, generally well-known to us, whose loyalty or courage was too conspicuous not to arouse the jealous passions of his master—all these were sufficient to furnish us with much food for conversation at our little gatherings round the breakfast or dinner-table. Tidings from our friends would reach us perhaps once in six weeks, with a batch of journals, old in date, but new to us, and to be eagerly pored over and discussed.

Four soldiers had been told off as our guards in the day-time, and they performed the duty by pairs on alternate days. At night we were watched by about thirty men, under one of the petty chiefs: these rarely gave us any annoyance. Civility, and an occasional glass of *tej*, were quite sufficient to form the basis of friendship; but an Abyssinian neither forgives nor forgets a slight. We were, therefore, generally guarded in our behaviour towards them, and however we might privately resent the frequent invasion of what an Englishman is apt to consider his castle, we soon found that a *barillé* of *tej* was only required to get rid of the intruder, and at the same time to cement a lasting friendship.

The actual events which occurred during this time were such as I have attempted to depict above, and their details would now possess no interest. The letter from her Majesty, of which Mr. Flad sent a copy to the King in December 1866, did not influence our fate in the least. Theodore acted on this occasion with his usual inconsistency. On forwarding the letter to Mr. Rassam, he adopted a bullying tone, to be succeeded a day or two later by another note, in which he almost approached servility. No disagreeable results, however, ensued to us from the failure of his project for securing additional hostages, although we all anticipated increased severity of treatment, especially after Mr. Flad's very unsatisfactory interview with him.

After this, we all felt that no other course was open to the Government except a declaration of war. The only doubt we had was whether it would be acted upon sufficiently quickly to insure our deliverance. We knew that the King was anxious to reach Magdala after the rainy season, and we had hopes, futile enough, that his advance might be stopped by the rebels. At the beginning of October, Theodore did really make his start, and although impeded by his immense mortar, and the other pieces of ordnance, to the construction of which he had devoted all his energies during the rains, he appeared to progress surely, if slowly. To add to our anxiety at this

time, the *res angustæ domi* began to press severely upon us. It was so difficult for our messengers to pass through Tigré and Lasta, then in a state of great confusion, that we were at one time scarcely possessed of any money, and were driven to calculate how much flour, our servants being dismissed, would suffice for our daily subsistence. A timely supply, however, staved off starvation for a time, but did not remove anticipations of future difficulty on this score.

On the 25th of October we lost one of our staunchest friends. The Abûna Salâma had arrived in Abyssinia twenty-five years previously, at a time when much schism and disunion prevailed in the Church. For a period of fifteen years, since the death of the last Abûna Kêrlos, not a single priest had been ordained; two, if not three, rival sects had sprung up, and disputes engendered by the *odium theologicum* raged throughout the length and breadth of the land. It was the first care of the youthful Bishop to heal these ruptures, and in the course of a few years the priests of Gondar and Adowa could again mingle together in friendly communion. But with his sanguine and impetuous temperament, it was impossible for the Abûna to keep aloof from the political troubles which for so long have convulsed the country. While Râs Ali and Oobyé of Tigré were at variance, the influence of the spiritual power was superior to that of the temporal, and it was easy to act the dignified

part of an arbiter. But in Theodore a different spirit was encountered. After a long struggle, the strong will, backed by the strong hand, prevailed, and in this case, as in so many others, the Churchman had to succumb to the King. For three years he had lived in close captivity at Magdala; not, indeed, in chains, but strictly watched by day and night. Notwithstanding this, he was able on several occasions to render us important services. He was led to become our friend by his natural inclination, by his education, and almost by his nationality. His early youth had been spent in a mission-school at Cairo, and his first act on arriving in the country was to send a message of compliment to the British Embassy in Shoa. The sufferings of Cameron and the missionaries of Gondar would have been still harder to be borne, if the Abûna had not been by to aid them, and we ourselves were indebted to him once for money-help, and often for the earliest news of what was passing around us. It was thus that his death, which occurred after a lingering and painful illness, left a blank not easy to be filled up.

Things were in this condition when, on the 13th of December, Theodore being at that time in Tchetchéo, between Bagemder and Wadela, we received intelligence that Colonel Merewether and his band of pioneers were at Annesley Bay, and were making preparations for the onward march of the troops into

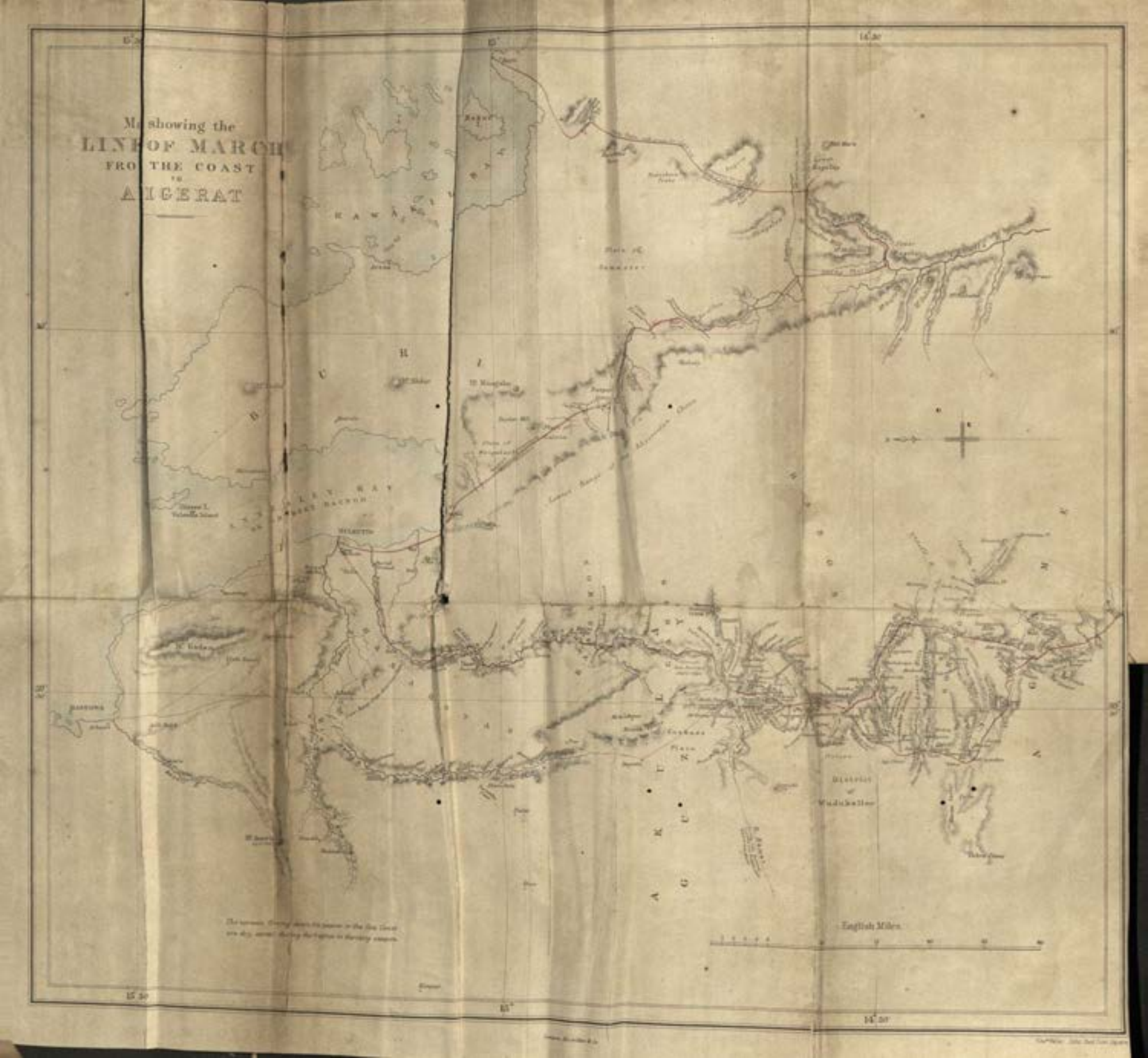
the country. The same week had seen the disembarkation at Mulkutto, and the start of Theodore from Debra Tabor: the problem, which would reach the mountain first, remained to be determined.

At this point, the part we had to play in the Abyssinian drama may be said to have ceased, and the chief interest lies in the progress of the Army of Rescue.

CHAPTER IV.

PRELIMINARY OPERATIONS OF COLONEL MEREWETHER AND THE ADVANCED BRIGADE.

ACTIVE service for her sons is essential to a nation's healthful existence. Without her great naval and military worthies, England would have long since ceased to exist as a first-class power. It is to the Arctic Expeditions—to the difficult and hazardous explorations by sea and land—to the work of surveyors and engineers—to the frontier wars and negotiations—that the preservation of that spirit is due which has produced, and will again produce the men capable of saving their country when the hour of trial comes. To England, therefore, an Abyssinian expedition was an unmixed good. Active work in the field, where alone self-reliance, experience, presence of mind, resource, and efficiency can be acquired, was furnished to her officers in both services; while some much needed self-respect was restored to the nation itself. The cause of quarrel was absolutely just, and comparatively little suffering or misery was brought upon the invaded country.


Map showing the
LINE OF MARCH
FROM THE COAST
TO
ADIGERAT
KAWA
ERZERUM
Plain of Erzerum
Valley of Mush
Plain of Mush
Lake Van
Lake Goljik
Lake Nazik
Lake Hazar
Lake Gheuk
Lake Palu
Lake Goljik
Lake Nazik
Lake Hazar
Lake Gheuk
Lake Palu
Plain of Kharput
Plain of Mezereh
Plain of Malatia
Plain of Arabkir
Plain of Kharput
Plain of Mezereh
Plain of Malatia
Plain of Arabkir
Plain of Diarbekir
Plain of Diarbekir
Plain of Mardin
Plain of Mardin
Plain of Nisibin
Plain of Nisibin
Plain of Mosul
Plain of Mosul
Plain of Erbil
Plain of Erbil
Plain of Kirkuk
Plain of Kirkuk
Plain of Sulimania
Plain of Sulimania
Plain of Kerind
Plain of Kerind
Plain of Hamadan
Plain of Hamadan
Plain of Kermanshah
Plain of Kermanshah
Plain of Khanikin
Plain of Khanikin
Plain of Bagdad
Plain of Bagdad
Plain of Hillah
Plain of Hillah
Plain of Kerbela
Plain of Kerbela
Plain of Nejef
Plain of Nejef
Plain of Shuster
Plain of Shuster
Plain of Dizful
Plain of Dizful
Plain of Susa
Plain of Susa
Plain of Ahwaz
Plain of Ahwaz
Plain of Bushire
Plain of Bushire
Plain of Shiraz
Plain of Shiraz
Plain of Persepolis
Plain of Persepolis
Plain of Isfahan
Plain of Isfahan
Plain of Yezd
Plain of Yezd
Plain of Kerman
Plain of Kerman
Plain of Bam
Plain of Bam
Plain of Jiroft
Plain of Jiroft
Plain of Bandar Abbas
Plain of Bandar Abbas
Plain of Lar
Plain of Lar
Plain of Bandar Lingeh
Plain of Bandar Lingeh
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Not only was Consul Cameron in irons, but by the summer of 1866 it was known that Mr. Rassam, the English envoy, and his suite were also detained. It was right, of course, that every means should be exhausted to induce King Theodore to release these officers, especially as there was some excuse for his behaviour; but those who knew his character and the circumstances of his position never had any hope in negotiation. It devolved upon the Political Resident at Aden to conduct all the measures connected with the release of the captives, from 1864, when Consul Cameron was first imprisoned, until 1868, when the English troops commenced their march upon Magdala —and right well did he do his work.

William Lockyer Merewether has added another name to the long roll of good public servants who have been educated at Westminster. Having distinguished himself by getting third into college there, he left school for an Indian cadetship, and was an ensign in the 21st Regiment of Bombay Native Infantry in March 1841. In March 1846 he became second in command of the 1st Regiment of Sind Irregular Horse, and soon afterwards he completely routed a body of 700 men of the Boogtie tribes, with only 133 of his own Sind horsemen. On that occasion, the colonel commanding the troops in Sind put on record, that "he could not too strongly express his admiration of the judgment, gallantry, and skill dis-

played by Lieutenant Merewether, and the brave little force under his command." In January 1849 Merewether was serving at the siege of Moultan, and afterwards, in the school of his beloved commander, General Jacob, he learnt, on the Sind frontier, the qualifications, not only for an enterprising soldier, but for a diplomatist and an administrator. During the whole time that the Indian mutinies lasted, Merewether was commanding on the Belooch frontier, with his life in his hand; and the tranquillity of that long line of country was entirely due to his firmness and judgment. So, in 1863, Sir Bartle Frere could find no fitter man to succeed to the very responsible post of Political Resident at Aden. That important free port will owe its supply of fresh water to Merewether's persevering energy as an administrator; while the turbulent tribes on the mainland are not likely soon to forget, amidst the ruins of their houses, that while no man is more conciliatory and long-suffering than the late Resident, he can act promptly, and hit hard when the time for action does come.

Colonel Merewether had much harassing work from the time that Mr. Rassam first landed at Massowa, in August 1864, until he finally succeeded in despatching him to the interior in October 1865. Then, in the end of that year, the veteran Abyssinian traveller, Dr. Beke, arrived with his wife, commissioned by the relatives of the captives, to take such measures as

seemed to him best calculated to secure their release. Dr. and Mrs. Beke came to Massowa in January 1866, went to Annesley Bay in H.M.S. *Lyra*, and landed; made a journey up the Taranta Pass to Halai, where they were stopped by the inhabitants, and sent a letter, with the petition of the relatives, to King Theodore. They then returned to England in June, without effecting their object. They were acting quite unofficially and in a private capacity, and against the wishes of the Government; but Dr. Beke's great knowledge of Abyssinia, and the data he collected on this occasion, have enabled him to furnish the Foreign Office with much information in the voluminous letters which he has from time to time communicated.

The news of the detention of Mr. Rassam and his suite having reached Aden, and Mr. Flad, one of the lay missionaries, having arrived at Massowa with an expression of Theodore's wish to obtain skilled workmen and machinery, Colonel Merewether proceeded to England in May 1866. On his way he visited Massowa, and became personally acquainted with M. Munzinger, who had taken charge of the British consulate since October 15th, 1865, at the Political Resident's request. Werner Munzinger is a native of Switzerland, and had been about twelve years in Abyssinia, chiefly at Keren, in the district of Bogos, where he was married and had property. His work on the countries which

he has visited along the northern frontier of Abyssinia proves him to be an accomplished scholar and a sound geographer.[1] Intimately acquainted with Abyssinian affairs, and having a thorough knowledge of the Amharic language, he also brought to the work a frank conciliatory manner with the natives, a single-minded zeal, an honesty of purpose, and an ability which did credit to Colonel Merewether's selection, and rendered his services simply invaluable.

Colonel Merewether and Mr. Flad arrived in England in the summer of 1866, and it was then decided by Lord Stanley that King Theodore's desire to be supplied with workmen and machinery should be complied with, in the expectation that this compliance would lead to the release of the captives. But while Merewether was busily employed in getting the presents and engaging artisans, the news arrived of the seizure and imprisonment of Mr. Rassam and his party, who had hitherto been simply detained. Colonel Merewether then became convinced that further negotiation would be useless, and that so gross an outrage and insult rendered adherence to the original plan impossible. He recommended, in September 1866, that Mr. Flad, whose return was necessary under any circumstances because his wife and children were in the King's camp, should be sent back with a letter demanding the immediate release of the captives, and

[1] Ost-Africanische Studien. Von Werner Munzinger. Schaffhausen, 1864.

that in case of refusal prompt measures should at once be taken to compel compliance. The Cabinet, however, still clung to the hope of avoiding the necessity of sending an expedition; they resolved to persevere in their original conciliatory measures; and Colonel Merewether, though this policy was in opposition to his convictions, at once set about zealously to carry it out. In November 1866 a civil engineer named Talbot, and six skilled artisans who had been engaged by Colonel Merewether, embarked at Southampton, with machinery and other presents worth about 3,500*l.*, and arrived at Massowa in December. These men were comfortably established in tents at Moncooloo, about four miles from the anchorage, the intention being, that they and the presents should proceed to the King's camp as soon as the released captives arrived at Massowa. But it soon became clear that there was no chance of the workmen being sent into Abyssinia with advantage, and in May 1867 they returned to England. In April, Lord Stanley addressed a final letter to Theodore, informing him that the presents would be sent home again unless the prisoners were released within three months, and Mr. Flad set out from Massowa for the King's camp.

It had long been evident to Colonel Merewether that Theodore would not release the captives except under compulsion, and that a warlike demonstration was inevitable; and in two despatches, dated Feb-

ruary 15th and March 4th, 1867, he reported that the last chance of effecting the liberation of the prisoners by conciliatory means had failed. He had made himself fully acquainted with the nature of the country to be invaded, and with the actual state of affairs in Abyssinia; and he had ascertained that, when once on the table-land, a healthy climate would be found, with abundance of good water, forage, fuel, meat, and grain. He knew also that the whole country had at last risen against Theodore, and would receive the English as friends. At the same time he had the opinions of Father Massajah,[1] and others well acquainted with the character of the King, that he would never kill the prisoners. Under these circumstances, Merewether's recommendation was that the invading force should consist of one European and six native regiments of infantry, a strong brigade of native cavalry, a full company of sappers, two light field batteries, and a troop of horse artillery, in all about 6,000 men.[2] At about the same time Sir William Coghlan, with the co-operation of that learned scholar and able negotiator the Rev. George P. Badger, submitted another plan, according to which the expe-

[1] A venerable Italian priest, and Vicar Apostolic of Kaffa, an almost unknown country, south of Abyssinia. He is the author of grammars of the Amharic and Galla languages.

[2] In September 1866, when in England, Colonel Merewether placed the requisite force at 9,000 or 10,000 men; but a subsequent closer acquaintance with the subject seems to have led him to consider that number as too large.

ditionary force would have consisted of 10,000 men. Sir William Coghlan's long residence at Aden, and intimate knowledge of all the countries bordering on the Red Sea, pointed him out as one of the fittest persons to command the expedition, and it was at one time fully expected that he would have been entrusted with it.

Unfortunately, the English Government could not even yet make up their minds; they resolved to wait until the three months given to the King in Lord Stanley's letter had expired, and thus much precious time was lost. But Colonel Merewether saw all along that the expedition was inevitable, and he devoted the first half of 1867, with the assistance of M. Munzinger, to collecting information respecting the approaches to the Abyssinian table-land.

An inhospitable strip of coast-line, without water or resources of any kind, intervenes between the Red Sea and the great mountain barrier which has for centuries shut out Abyssinia from intercourse with the outer world; while the mountains themselves appeared to offer an equally formidable obstacle to the advance of an invading force. There was much in the difficulty of approaching the famed empire of Prester John, in the apparent hardness of the achievement which was to rescue our countrymen, that gave a charm to the enterprise, and made it more akin to the romantic adventures of the sixteenth century than to the

mathematically calculated operations of the present day. The work was difficult, but it was to be done, for had not Da Gama overcome the obstacles presented by that frowning mountain wall with a mere handful of men, and no commissariat! But in those days the reckless commanders who discovered and overran three continents, cared neither for keeping open their communications, nor for the comfort and convenience of themselves and their men. Their sole thought was of the enemy in front. A modern general must take many things into his calculation, and Merewether's task was no easy one. The most obvious landing-place was of course Massowa, which had been used as the port of Abyssinia for the last three centuries, and the passes leading thence to the interior first attracted his attention. Then there were Annesley Bay,[1] where was the ancient Greek port of Adulis, and the now-forgotten mountain roads leading thence to Axum; Hanfila Bay, and the route across the great salt plain to the interior; and Tajurrah, far to the south. Several points had to be taken into consideration in selecting the best among these competing routes: such as proximity of a healthy station to the port, a good anchorage, landing-place, water supply, character of passes leading to the interior, and nearness to Mag-

[1] The Arab name of this great bay is "Ghubbet Dacnoo." When Lord Valentia visited it, in the beginning of this century, he gave it his own surname, by which it has ever since been known to Europeans.

dala, where the captives were immured. Colonel Merewether, with the active and zealous aid of M. Munzinger, keeping these requirements in view, proceeded by a rapid but exhaustive method of induction to ascertain which route combined most of the desired qualifications.

First, as regards Massowa, the port occupied by the Egyptians, he explored the neighbourhood in search of a healthy station near the landing-place. In January 1867 he made an expedition to Ailet, twenty-seven miles to the westward; and in April he penetrated as far as the plateau of Agametta; while in February M. Munzinger carefully examined and roughly surveyed two passes into the interior in the direction of Kiaquor—one over the mountains, and another by the Aliguddy torrent bed. In January also Colonel Merewether and M. Munzinger landed at several places in Annesley Bay, made numerous inquiries among the natives, and ascertained that the Senafé Pass was probably the best route to the interior in that direction. One Father Zechariah, an Abyssinian priest who had been educated at Rome, was the first to point out the advantages of the Senafé Pass. In February, Hanfila Bay to the southward was visited, where there was a good anchorage and a road into the interior by the salt plains. It had the additional advantage of being much nearer to Magdala, the point of destination, and this route demanded

complete investigation. So in June M. Munzinger undertook a most adventurous journey, in the burning heat of the summer, over ground which, except by Mr. Coffin, had not been traversed since the time of Fathers Mendez and Lobo, more than two centuries ago. He crossed that terrible salt desert, the horrors of which are so graphically described by the old Jesuits, penetrated up the mountains to within seven miles of the crest of the Abyssinian table-land, then took a southerly course, re-discovered the river Ragolây, struck the coast at Annesley Bay, and returned to Massowa in July. In the same month, Colonel Merewether visited the port of Tajurrah, far to the south, and collected all available information respecting the routes in that direction. The investigation, so ably and thoroughly, and at the same time so rapidly conducted, was now nearly completed. Massowa and its passes were rejected because of their distance from Magdala and the greater width of the coast plains at that point, as well as for political reasons; and Tajurrah was out of the question, because there were two hundred miles of waterless, burning plain to cross between the sea and the mountains. There remained Hanfila and Annesley Bays. The Hanfila route offered the great advantage of leading to the table-land at a point very much nearer to Magdala by an easy pass, but on the other hand there was a considerable width of waterless desert to traverse

before reaching the foot of the mountains. At Annesley Bay, the ancient port of the Greeks, the mountains approach nearer to the sea-coast than at any other point; and this would be an advantage quite counterbalancing the greater proximity of the Hanfila route to Magdala, if the mountain passes proved to be practicable. Thus the question was narrowed to one point, by the summer of 1867.

In July 1867 the Cabinet finally resolved to send an expedition to Abyssinia to enforce the release of the captives, and Bombay having been fixed upon as the base of operations, the Government of that Presidency was desired to make all necessary preparations. Colonel Merewether, although he had had charge of all previous operations, was, in consequence of the size of the force that was recommended for this service, considered too young to take command of the expedition.[1] Instead of the 6,000 men that would have been

[1] Sir Stafford Northcote wrote, on August 16th:—"I desire that you will convey to Colonel Merewether an expression of the high value which her Majesty's Government set upon his services, and of their hope that they may be made available upon the present occasion. His rank is not high enough to enable him to take the supreme command of such a force as it is probable will have to be employed." And to the Foreign Office the Under-Secretary of State for India wrote:—"Sir Stafford Northcote trusts that the commander-in-chief of the expedition will have the advantage of Colonel Merewether's services, in such capacity as may be most advantageous." Lord Stanley thus wrote to Colonel Merewether himself:—"I cannot conclude this despatch without expressing to you the warm thanks of her Majesty's Government for your unwearied zeal in endeavouring, though fruitlessly, to effect the liberation of the captives, and for all your valuable services."

employed if his advice had been taken, the Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay army reported that, in his opinion, 12,000 was the smallest number that it would be safe to employ. His impression was, that 2,000 men would be required to hold the port and the pass into the interior, 5,000 to operate against Theodore, and the rest to keep open communications; and his ideas respecting the accumulation of provisions were on an equally extensive scale.

In August, Sir Robert Napier, the Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay army, was appointed to command the Abyssinian expedition; and Major-General Sir Charles Staveley was nominated as second in command; the force to consist of 4,000 British, and 8,000 native troops. It was also arranged that Colonel Merewether, who had come to Bombay to consult with the Government, should command a reconnoitring party, and the important duty was entrusted to him of selecting the anchorage and landing-place, exploring the passes leading to the interior, establishing a footing in the country, and entering into communication with the native chiefs. This little advanced brigade consisted of the 10th Regiment of Bombay Native Infantry, the 3d Regiment of Bombay Cavalry, a mountain train of four guns, with native gunners, and two companies of Bombay Sappers. The officers associated with Colonel Merewether were Colonel Phayre, the Quartermaster-General of the Bombay

army, and Colonel Wilkins, of the Royal Engineers; and they were ordered to form a committee, of which Colonel Merewether was President. Colonel Phayre, who has seen much service, and was shot through the lungs at the battle of Meannee, is a most indefatigable explorer, possessed of untiring zeal and energy, and able easily to walk any other man in the expedition off his legs. The reconnoitring party sailed from Bombay, on the 16th of September, 1867, and having first examined the port of Massowa, they anchored in Annesley Bay, at a place called Mulkutto, where the dry bed of the Hadas torrent debouches on the sea-coast. Colonel Merewether selected this spot as the point of disembarkation, and thus the operations of the Abyssinian expedition were commenced early in October.

Annesley Bay is formed by the rocky peninsula of Buri, and is about thirty miles long, by six or eight wide, with the little island of Dissee[1] at the entrance. The anchorage is excellent, the bay being open only to the north; but the great drawback to the place is that the slope of the western shore is excessively gradual, and the water is too shallow even for the approach of small boats, while the spring tides cover a considerable area of the low land. From the sea the view is

[1] Lord Valentia christened this island with his title, but he was not so successful in making this new name permanent, as he was in giving his surname to the bay.

pleasant enough. A green plain stretches from the shore to the foot of the mountains, which tower up, ridge above ridge, into the clouds, in imposing masses. The ravines cleave them laterally from north to south, so that the ridges appear to rise one above the other in a succession of waves. But on landing, all pleasant impressions are at once dissipated. A sandy plain, overlying clay, extends from the sea-shore to the mountains, which is intersected by dry beds of torrents; and the deceptive green is composed of thickets of salt bushes, interspersed with thorny acacias,[1] the blistering calotropis,[2] and some coarse tufts of grass.

Owing to the gradual shelving of the beach, it became a matter of great importance to commence the construction of a landing-pier; but there was no stone on or near the shore. Fascines were made from the brush-wood, and staked down as retaining fences, and native boats were collected from Massowa and other ports for the conveyance of stone from the rocky Buri Peninsula, on the opposite side of the bay. Sea walls were built

[1] *Acacia Arabica*, the well-known babool tree of the Bombay Presidency and Sind, furnishing excellent food for camels. The species has many varieties, and M. Hochstetter gave this one the name of *Acacia Abyssinica*, but M. Richard pronounces the two to be varieties of one and the same species.

[2] *Calotropis procera*, an asclepiad, with acrid juice, and large, inviting, but deceitful fruit. It appears to be identical with the *arka* tree (*C. gigantea*) of India, under the dangerous shade of which the Emperor Akbar was born in the desert of Sind.

outside the fascines, and filled in mainly with stones, and soon a pier was run out for 300 yards, where there was a depth of five feet at low-water springs. By November it was completed sufficiently for landing the men and horses of the advanced brigade, and in the middle of December a tramway was laid from its head to some distance up the beach, for bringing up stores. Several wells were cleared out and dug in the bed of the Hadas, and the surrounding country was carefully examined for water. The Mulkutto works were commenced and advanced far towards completion by that most excellent and zealous officer Captain Goodfellow, whose name was already coupled with the important works at the new Indian port of Karwar. It was ascertained that the Hadas, after coming down the Degonta Pass from north to south, turned sharp to the east, and traversed the plain to the sea; while the Aliguddy, flowing through a gorge from Kiaquor to the west, joined the Hadas soon after both entered the plain. The only water in these torrent-beds, below the point where they emerge from the mountains, was found at Oo-ah[1] on the Aliguddy, and at Adoda on the Hadas, both near the point where the two beds unite, and three and a half miles from each other. Subsequently a larger supply was found in wells in the bed of the torrent coming from

[1] "Oo-ah" means "water," in the Shoho language. Mr. Salt spells it "Weah." In Amharic it is "Wahà."

the Senafé Pass, at a place called Komayli, about eight miles south of Adoda, and eleven miles from the camp at Mulkutto.[1] The first camp was pitched near some wells, at a distance of one mile and a quarter from the beach.

After forming the camp at Mulkutto, Colonel Merewether considered that it would be important to explore the coast country to the southward, in order to ascertain whether there was an alternative point for disembarkation, with a practicable pass into the interior, in the neighbourhood of Hawâkil Bay. As the march of the army would be in a southerly direction, parallel to the coast, it would be an evident advantage to open up a route by which supplies might be sent from the sea, at a point some distance to the southward of Mulkutto. The party, consisting of Colonels Merewether, Phayre, and Wilkins, Dr. Lumsdaine, and M. Munzinger, left Mulkutto on the 21st of October, and returned on the 30th. The thermometer was ranging from 101° to 110° Fahr. when they started on this enterprising expedition into a totally unknown country. After travelling for several days over a dreary succession of arid plains, rocky mountain spurs, and up dry torrent-beds, where on all sides there was evidence of former volcanic action, the

[1] Major Baigrie, Captain Pottinger, and Lieut. Jopp, R.E., made a survey of the country, from the coast to Oo-ah and Adoda, soon after landing in October.

party reached the banks of a river called the Ragolay, a clear running stream of excellent water, flowing through an alluvial plain, bounded on either side by high hills. Munzinger had crossed this river during his journey from Hanfila Bay in July. It was afterwards ascertained that the Ragolay receives the whole of the drainage of the eastern side of the Abyssinian watershed, from Senafé as far as Atsbi. The point at which the party struck the Ragolay was forty-nine miles from the sea; and after flowing for a few miles farther, the stream reaches a point which is 193 feet below the sea level, where it disappears under the united action of the thirsty sand and the intense heat of the sun. Here Colonel Merewether arrived at the verge of that vast salt plain, which has been so graphically described by the Portuguese patriarch, Alfonzo Mendez, and his companion Father Lobo, whose quaint narrative, in its English dress, was the first published work of Dr. Johnson. The ground was white with incrustations of salt, and the desert extended to the south as far as the eye could reach. Beyond this point, then, there was no hope of discovering a new route into the interior, and by the Ragolay alone could such a road as would be of any practical use be expected to be found. Yet, even as regards that stream, a waterless region, forty-nine miles in width, extends between it and the sea. The reconnoitring party marched from Ragolay to the

shores of Hawâkil Bay, whence they were taken to Mulkutto in a steamer, after an unusually severe journey extending over ten days, in a wild and unknown region, with a blazing tropical sun over their heads, and in a temperature the intense heat of which was almost insupportable.

On the 21st of October the advanced brigade arrived in Annesley Bay, under the command of Colonel Field of the 10th Bombay Native Infantry. The troops landed on the 30th, and the 3d Cavalry were sent at once to Adoda, and were afterwards moved to Oo-ah, where the water supply was better. H.M.S. *Satellite* also arrived in the end of October, and Captain Edye established some system in the supply of water to the camp, the steamers in the anchorage condensing at the rate of 32,000 gallons a day.[1] A water-shoot, 480 feet long, raised on trestles above the sea, was put up for conveying the condensed water to the tanks, whence a long wooden trough was filled for watering the cattle.

As soon as the Abyssinian expedition was decided upon, the question of transport became all important. It was evident that the movements would be mainly dependent upon the supply of mules, and that a vast number must be imported, forming a transport train, and requiring good organization and much special knowledge for its successful management. The

[1] The cost of this, at the rate of 3 rs. per 100 gallons, would be 960 rs. a day, or about £2,900 a month.

authorities at Bombay at once took measures for buying up mules and engaging drivers in the Persian Gulf and in the Punjab, while the Home Government despatched officers to purchase animals in Spain, Italy, and Syria. Colonel Clark Kennedy was sent to Egypt with a detachment of the military train in September, where he made admirable arrangements for receiving the mules at Alexandria, and passing them through to Suez.[1] Too much praise cannot be given to the Transport Department in Egypt during this period, under its able and indefatigable head, Captain Willoughby, R.N., assisted by his nephew, Captain Michael Willoughby, of the Bombay Staff Corps, who was sent from Bombay to purchase animals, charter steamers, and convey stores and provisions to Abyssinia, conjointly with his uncle. Seven steamers of the Aziziah Egyptian Company were chartered in the Red Sea,[2] and on the 2d of October, 1867, the first vessel arrived at Alexandria, consigned to the Principal Transport Officer. Others followed until the

[1] The lamented death of this distinguished and most popular officer took place at Alexandria, when he was on the point of returning home in December.

[2]

	Tons.	H. P.
Samanoud	2,279	250
Cosseir	600	90
Hodeida	600	150
Hedjaz	600	100
Yembo	400	90
Dessouk	300	100
Penguin	Small tug for Suez.	

13th of May, 1868. During that time thirty-two vessels, containing half a million of cases and bales, were expeditiously discharged without damage, most of them in the unprecedented winter of 1867-68, when fourteen and sixteen Peninsular and Oriental steamers alone were, at one time, under demurrage for weeks from stress of weather. In all the tremendous pressure caused by the traffic of so many great companies on the Isthmus, not a train of Abyssinian stores was detained; and this will give an idea of the excellent management which could achieve such a result, in the face of such difficulties. As many as 11,000 and odd animals were also shipped from Egypt, consisting of mules, horses, camels, and donkeys. All this was done by Captain Willoughby and his small staff, in addition to the ordinary work connected with Indian overland troop service. The number of mules to be sent from Suez was fixed, in the first place, at 8,000, and before December the order had been completed. The mules from Spain were the large kind used for drawing carts and carriages in the towns, and were quite unfit for the rough work in Abyssinia, requiring an amount of food and care which there was very little chance of their receiving. But the Syrian beasts were excellent, and would have stood the work well, with ordinary attention to their wants. Several large steamers had been sent to Suez to receive the mules and bring them to

Mulkutto, and on the 29th of October the first instalment of 325 arrived on board the steamer *Great Victoria*, while 550 in the *Samanoud*, and 260 in the *Hodeida*, followed soon afterwards. A detachment composed of 392 mules and 351 drivers, being the offscourings of the streets, was also sent from Bombay with the advanced brigade. Camels were supplied by contract with one Hasan Ali from Aden, who agreed to deliver them, with drivers, at Rs. 210 each; and Colonel Merewether despatched a Mr. Haussman to purchase further supplies in the Egyptian territory about Kassala and Matamma.

The mules arrived from Suez without packsaddles or other equipments, the halters were of rope instead of chain, and consequently the mules were soon wandering, at their own sweet wills, over a plain without water or forage. The men who were sent as muleteers were the vilest sweepings of Eastern cities, no one could understand their various languages, and they were utterly ignorant of their business.[1] Soon after they arrived the great majority deserted in a body, and went to Massowa. The mules were left without attendance of any kind, and they soon began to die by scores. The stench became intolerable, and the sight of half-starved survivors, occasionally met with

[1] One Persian baker had come, under the delusion that he could run away to Mecca, little thinking that the Red Sea intervened between him and his hopes of becoming a Hajji.

on the plain, was most pitiable. During November the struggle for water at the trough was frantic and desperate at the hour of distribution. The beasts crowded and fought wildly for a place, and even men were seen to put their mouths into the trough beside beasts known to be diseased, and whose nostrils were actually running from the effects of glanders.

Meanwhile stores and men continued to arrive at Mulkutto, and the place assumed a busy and striking appearance. The best building was erected by Captain Edye, to be used as a store and naval office; timber buildings were run up by the Commissariat Department; a bazaar, the inevitable accompaniment of an Indian force, soon appeared; great heaps of stores and forage accumulated near the pier, and rows of tents completed this rapidly formed seaport. Huge white bullocks,[1] and a gang of women from Bombay, who were engaged as grinders of corn for the Sepoys, and who might be seen walking about and balancing brass *lōtas* on their heads, gave a peculiarly Indian look to the scene.

The first natives with whom the British invaders came in contact were the wild nomadic tribes known generally by the name of Shohos, who range, with their flocks and herds, between the crests of the

[1] These 140 draught bullocks, with 126 carts, and 125 drivers, were the second detachment of the Transport Train, sent from Bombay on November 4th.

Abyssinian mountains and the sea-coast. Their language is distinct both from Arabic and from those spoken on the Abyssinian highlands, but they nevertheless appear to be of Arabian origin, though mixed with the aboriginal Taltal or Danakil coast tribes. The Shohos are divided into several tribes. Those nearest to the coast, on the western side of Annesley Bay, are the Hasarotas[1] and Rassamos; the former occupying Zulla, Komayli, Oo-ah, and Adoda in the plain, and holding the Degonta Pass and the lower half of that leading to Senafé. In the cool season they descend into the plains with their cattle, and cultivate small fields of jowaree here and there,[2] while during the intense summer-heat they take refuge in the passes, as do all the other Shoho tribes. The Hasarotas number about 2,000 fighting men. The Rassamos are not so numerous, their spears not exceeding 500, and they occupy the country south of the Hasarotas, from the southern end of Annesley Bay on the coast to the Undel torrent, half-way up the Senafé Pass. The Gasos are met with in the upper half of the Senafé Pass, and the turbulent Hasos are still further to the south and east. These tribes have, from time immemorial, levied black mail on travellers and traders passing between Abyssinia and the coast, and of late years

1 Called by Salt "Hazortas."

2 Salt mentions having seen several enclosures where jowaree was cultivated on the coast plain.

their exactions have been so excessive that the Senafé and Degonta Passes are almost entirely abandoned. The Hasarotas and Rassamos acknowledge the authority of the Egyptian Government, and are under the control of the Naib of Arkeeko, but the others are independent. The Shohos are a small boned, black race, with rather woolly hair, but with regular and, in some instances, even handsome features. A cloth round the loins and a cotton cloak is their only clothing; but they are invariably armed with a curved sword worn on the right side, a spear, club, and leather shield. They are, as a rule, arrant cowards, and have no firearms, but are exceedingly active, and run up the hills with great speed. They have cattle of diminutive breed, asses, goats, and sheep. Their huts are scattered over the plain, the largest village being Zulla, about three miles from the sea, on the south side of the Hadas torrent bed. The Shoho burial-places are extensive, and appear to be used by the people for a considerable distance around them—there being only two between the sea-shore and the entrance to the Senafé Pass. Their mode of sepulture is peculiar. The graves are marked by oblong heaps of stones, with upright slabs at each end. A hole is dug about six feet deep, at the bottom of which a small cave is excavated for the reception of the body. The tomb is then closed with stones, and the hole leading to it is filled up. The Shohos are now

Mussulmans, though before the Turkish occupation of the coast, three centuries ago, they appear to have been Christians.

Colonel Merewether entered into arrangements with the chiefs of seven different Shoho tribes, by which, for the consideration of 15 dollars each per month, they bound themselves to restrain their people from molesting convoys, and to cause the restoration of all stolen property, and the surrender of the robbers.

They also agreed to furnish guides, and to contract to bring supplies from Mulkutto up the pass, on their own cattle, at the rate of $2\frac{1}{4}$ dollars for each bag safely delivered. The Shohos took very kindly to what must have been to them a wonderful state of things, quite beyond anything they had ever dreamt of. They soon engaged themselves to work in gangs, in the employ of Dr. Lumsdaine, the sanatory officer at Mulkutto, who was hard at work burning the carcases of mules; and as guides and runners. But all the time they were firmly convinced that those strangers who drank water out of the sea, and throve upon it, were in league with Shaitân.

This establishment of a friendly understanding with the Shoho tribes was of the very first importance, as they undoubtedly had the power of causing great annoyance and embarrassment. It was also necessary to keep on good terms with the Egyptian authorities, who not only held Massowa, but had posted a small

body of troops at Arafali at the head of Annesley Bay, and indeed laid claim to the whole coast-line. At the same time extreme care was essential to prevent the Abyssinians from supposing that we were acting in concert with their deadly enemies; for if their susceptibilities had been once aroused on this point, the whole country might have made common cause against us, in defence of Christianity and of their homes, against the friends of Islam. The Governments of Turkey and Egypt had cheerfully consented to the temporary occupation of a port of disembarkation by the English, and to the passage of troops across the strip of land which the latter Government laid claim to;[1] and the Egyptian Governor-General of Soudân wrote to Colonel Merewether, assuring him that all the assistance in their power would be readily given him by the governors of ports along the coast. Moreover, when a complaint was made of the conduct of the Governor of Massowa, who had shown a different spirit, he was promptly removed. But, on the other hand, unnecessary reinforcements had been collected at Suez, and were despatched to Suâkin and Massowa; and there appeared to be an intention, on the part of the Viceroy's Government, if not of invading Abyssinia, and giving rise to complications which would have embarrassed the English general, at least

[1] The Sultan had, a year or two before, transferred all his claims on the coast to the Viceroy of Egypt.

of taking prompt advantage of any opening that offered itself, for seizing territory and fostering the slave-trade, the moment our backs were turned. The bearing of Egyptian officials of high rank was, however, all that could be desired.

In advancing to the Abyssinian highlands, Colonel Merewether reverted to the routes that were used in the old times by the Ptolemies and the conquerors of Yemen. The ancient Greek city of Adulis, where Euergetes sacrificed to Mars after conquering half Ethiopia, was once on the sea-shore; but in the days of Cosmas it was two, and now its ruins are a good four, miles from the beach, on the north bank of the bed of the Hadas. On a few mounds, concealed by salt bushes, there are broken pieces of fluted columns, capitals, and other fragments of a very dark-coloured volcanic stone. This is all that remains of the once flourishing emporium of Abyssinian trade.[1] Leaving these ruins on the right, the reconnoitring party had

[1] A great wealth of antiquarian treasure may be concealed under the mounds. Dr. Lumsdaine, after making a very slight excavation, found the bronze balance and chain of a pair of scales—an appropriate first discovery in the ruins of a great commercial city. In the great work of MM. Lefebvre, Dillon, and Petit there is a plan of the ruins of Adulis. Before the expedition finally left Abyssinia, Captain Goodfellow was engaged, for about a fortnight, in making excavations at Adulis, with a party of Bombay and Madras Sappers, and made plans of the ruins. The remains of a church were discovered, probably of the time of King Caleb, built on the *débris* of an earlier edifice. One coin of the same period was found, and a few pieces of marble. The church was apsidal, with square columns. But this examination was far from being exhaustive.

discovered water at Komayli, some eleven miles inland, and early in October Colonel Phayre and M. Munzinger had explored the Senafé Pass for several miles. But, on returning from the expedition to Hawâkil Bay, it became necessary to select the pass definitively, up which the road should be made to the Abyssinian table-land.

The reconnoitring party, therefore, first explored the Senafé Pass in the beginning of November. The dry bed of the Nebhaguddy torrent, which leads down the pass, opens on the plain at Komayli, and the drainage line passes on towards the sea, some miles to the southward of the bed of the Hadas. In following up this dry torrent-bed, a perpendicular mountain wall soon begins to close in on either side, the narrow pass winding between the gneiss and granite precipices, with alluvial deposit at some places from ten to twenty feet thick, at the sides of the torrent-bed. In this lower part of the pass the vegetation is the same as that of the plain—acacias, with a few calotropis trees. At the end of eight miles the narrow part of the pass is reached, at a place called Lower Sooroo, where the running water which flows from Upper Sooroo, a distance of four miles, is lost. The volcanic action which has disturbed the whole region is very distinctly visible in this pass. At Lower Sooroo the gneiss cliffs are perpendicular, on the western side, and in one place a vertical crack, some five feet in width,

is filled with a black volcanic rock: the eye is caught by it at once, and it looks like a broad black mark painted on the side of the cliff from the summit to the base. At Lower Sooroo the way up the pass turns sharp to the right, and enters a very narrow gorge at Middle Sooroo, not more than fifty to eighty feet across, with cliffs on either side, rising to a height of 1,000 feet, and so perpendicular that a stone dropped from the top would fall into the torrent-bed.

The pass is here blocked up with gigantic boulders of gneiss, heaped together in wild confusion for a distance of 250 yards, and presenting a formidable obstacle to the advance of cavalry or laden mules. The scenery is magnificent; the beetling cliffs leaving but a narrow strip of sky dotted with vultures and eagles, and the mighty precipices, with huge masses of rock hurled down at their feet, closing in the view by their sharp turns, and forming an irregular amphitheatre of unsurpassed grandeur and sublimity. At Upper Sooroo, which is over twelve miles from Komayli, the pass opens again, and the water is excellent and plentiful. The total length of the running Sooroo stream, from its source to where it disappears at Lower Sooroo, is four miles. Beyond there is a distance of twenty-eight miles with no water in the dry months, except at one point called Maiyen, where Colonel Merewether caused wells to be dug. A little before reaching this point the gneiss ceases, and a dark

schistose metamorphic rock, with strata thrown up at angles of 70°, takes its place, apparently overlying it. It was observable that, wherever there was running water, the strata were nearly horizontal, while the waterless tracts were met with where the strata were tilted at great angles. The wells at Maiyen are twelve miles and a half above Upper Sooroo, and a mile further on the pass opens out, and there is a plain which the reconnoitring party named after a bevy of guinea fowls they put up there. Here the Undel torrent, coming from a ravine to the left, enters the pass, and forms the boundary between the Rassamo and Gaso Shohos. At Guinea Fowl Plain the *kol-quall*, or candelabra trees (*Euphorbia Abyssinica*[1]), the beauty of which is recorded by Bruce in his description of the Taranta Pass, first occur. Their upright branches clustering close together, of a rich araucaria green, certainly present a fine effect amongst the brushwood. There are also large beds of aloes on the plain. To the right a view of the plateau of Abyssinia with scarped cliffs, apparently only distant about four miles, is obtained through an opening in the hills formed by the Mudhullo torrent.

Beyond Guinea Fowl Plain the scenery in the pass, if possible, increases in grandeur. The cliffs are higher, with peaked mountains towering up behind

[1] Willdenow made this tree a variety of the *Euphorbia officinarum* of Linnæus, but Rausch makes it a distinct species, with the above name.

them, and the vegetation is richer and more varied. The strata of the schistose rocks are here not only tilted at great angles, but crushed into irregular waves; and where veins of quartz occur, the two kinds of rock are torn away, leaving gaping cracks and fissures. The acacia gives place to grand old trees of the fig tribe—sycamores, peepuls, and *dahros*—the latter differing only in habit from the Indian banyan. With these grow the graceful feathery-leaved tamarix,[1] the jujub,[2] and various mimosæ, with an undergrowth of solanum and lobelia. The pass winds in and out amongst the mountains, and at one lovely spot the cliffs approach within forty feet, while the foliage of several venerable *dahro* trees overshadows the road. In some places there was a perfect plague of locusts, which rose from the ground in myriads, their innumerable wings making a loud crackling noise.

The distance from the Maiyen wells to the next water at Raha-guddy is sixteen miles and a half, but there is a little water after rains at a place called Henderta, only eleven miles from the wells. The whole distance from Upper Sooroo to Raha-guddy, where the next running water is met with, is a gentle ascent with an average gradient of about one in forty,

[1] *Tamarix Senegalensis, D.C.*

[2] *Zizyphus spina Christi.* The leaves differ somewhat in shape from the Indian kind, but the fruit is edible.

perfectly fitted for wheel traffic; but near Raha-guddy the pass again narrows, and much labour was required to make a tolerable road.

At Raha-guddy the vegetation becomes sub-alpine the elevation being 6,200 feet above the sea. There is turf by the road side, and tall handsome juniper trees (*Juniperus procera*, Hochst.), wild olives, several mimosæ, peepul, sycamore, and *dahro* figs, kol-qualls, jujub trees, the *Myrsine Africana*, which is an evergreen bush with a sweetly-scented flower, and several *labiatæ* grow on the hills, while a graceful clematis climbs over the trees. From a lofty hill above Raha-guddy, called Humbuctu, the reconnoitring party obtained a very extensive view. To the south and west is the edge of the Abyssinian table-land, running in almost a straight line, with scarped sides of light coloured sandstone. The mountain ridges or spurs, between which the passes wind, appear to run off from the table-land at right angles, but afterwards turn to the north, and throw up peaks here and there. They then wind away in a northerly direction, but very tortuously, with deep ravines between them. Colonel Merewether ascertained that Senafé, on the Abyssinian table-land, was only nine miles from Raha-guddy; and the whole pass from Komayli to Senafé was fifty miles long. The pass appeared to be excellent, and well adapted for the advance of the invading force; and, as soon as Colonel Merewether

returned to the coast, parties of the 10th Native Infantry and Bombay Sappers were sent up to Sooroo, to overcome the obstacle presented by the gigantic boulders, and make a road over what was nicknamed the "Devil's Staircase."

It was, however, still necessary to explore the alternative pass leading to Degonta, which was far better known, and the reconnoitring party set out from Adoda to perform this service on the 13th of November. The first fifty-two miles up this pass is the well-beaten road from Massowa and Arkeeko to the Abyssinian highlands, which was followed by Bruce, Salt, and most modern travellers. But at a place called Shumfaito the old road branches off up the steep mountain side to Halai and Dixa. The reconnoitring party saw at once that this mountain track was impracticable for an army, and continued to advance up the ravine until they reached a place called Maderto, at the foot of the ascent to Tekonda, on the table-land.[1] They found the ascent to be exceedingly difficult, and on reaching Tekonda they came to the conclusion that this pass was inferior in every respect to that leading by Komayli to Senafé. A fine sandstone peak rises up to the left of Tekonda, with an extensive plateau on the summit, which was covered with broken stone pillars, and other ruins.

[1] Old Dr. Krapf was the only modern traveller who had come down from Tekonda to Massowa by this pass. It was the route he took in 1842.

Colonel Merewether conjectured that these ruins on Mount Tsaro were the remains of a Greek depôt on the caravan route from Adulis to Axum, which probably passed up the Senafé Pass as far as Guinea Fowl Plain, and then up the Mudhullo ravine, leading direct to Mount Tsaro.

The line separating the regions of mountain and coast rains crosses the Senafé Pass at a point between Upper Sooroo and Maïyen wells. Above that line the heavy rains of the Abyssinian highlands begin to fall in June and continue until the end of August. But the Senafé Pass is flanked by the Tekonda on one side and by an equally deep ravine on the other, so that the area of drainage is confined to the rainfall on the perpendicular sides of the flanking hills. The floods, therefore, only consist of the rush of surface drainage over a comparatively small area, and are sudden and of short duration, though strong enough, while they last, to destroy a fair weather road. The growth of trees in the torrent-bed sufficiently proves that there are no floods at any time of the year of such magnitude as to close the pass for any length of time.

To Colonel Merewether, and his colleagues, is due the honour of having discovered the best pass leading from the coast to the highlands of Abyssinia, and the discovery was not made accidentally, but by dint of a careful and exhaustive system of exploration. The necessity for making use of the pass arose rather

sooner than was originally anticipated. An epidemic broke out among the animals, which carried off large numbers of the cavalry horses and transport mules; and the only chance of saving the rest appeared to be an immediate occupation of a post on the Abyssinian table-land.[1] It also became urgently necessary, owing to the total absence of forage on the coast and in the passes, to open out fresh sources of supply. From a political point of view, the appearance of an English force on the highlands was even more important, in order that friendly relations might be established with the chiefs and people. The march of the advanced brigade, commanded by Colonel Field of the 10th Bombay Native Infantry was, therefore, ordered; Major Pierce of the 10th had already made a road from Komayli to Lower Sooroo in November; while the completion of a cart-road over the "Devil's Staircase" occupied two companies of Sappers and two companies of Beloochees for three months. It was constructed by means of inclined planes or ramps over the boulders, instead of blasting, and was eventually completed to a breadth of ten feet, reflecting the greatest credit on the officers[2] and men who were employed upon it. Nearly a mile of similar, though not quite such heavy work, was necessary near Raha-guddy.

[1] The 3d Cavalry lost 318 horses out of 499 landed.

[2] These were Lieut. Jopp, R.E., and afterwards Captain Sturt, and Lieuts. Coake and Leacock.

The 10th regiment of Bombay Native Infantry and the Mountain Train left Upper Sooroo on the 2d of December, accompanied by Colonel Merewether; on the 5th they were engaged in making the steep ascent beyond Raha-guddy passable for mules, and on the 6th and 7th the whole of the advanced brigade, including the 3d Cavalry, were established on the plain of Senafé. On the 14th Colonel Merewether went from Senafé to Tekonda, thus connecting the examination of the heads of the two passes; and on the 21st he set out, with the reconnoitring party, for Adigerat, thirty-five miles on the road to Magdala, in order to examine the two routes to that place; returning on Christmas day.

The most important results followed Colonel Merewether's wise determination to push the advanced brigade up to Senafé. The lives of the surviving horses of the 3d Cavalry, of many mules, and of the artillery horses were saved, a new source of supply was opened, the people far and near became accustomed to the presence of the English, and willing to bring in their produce to a market where it was well paid for, and friendly relations were established with the chiefs of the surrounding country.[1] It was above all things necessary to make it worth while for the people to

[1] During the first two weeks of January 1868, the Commissariat Department at Senafé bought 60,000 lbs. of barley, and 200,000 lbs. of grass, besides bullocks, goats, sheep, ghee, and firewood.

bring in their supplies promptly and from long distances, and it was also absolutely essential to the success of the expedition that all tendency to ill treat the natives should be promptly suppressed. To the honour of English officers be it said that the good feeling between the Abyssinians and their invaders was seldom disturbed.

Soon after his arrival at Senafé, Colonel Merewether received a letter from Dadjatsh Kâsa, the ruler of Tigré, offering friendship and assistance, and saying that the cordial relations he proposed to renew had existed in the days of Walda Selassyè and Sabagadis.[1] He also sent an envoy or agent, named Mercha Warkê, to reside as his representative in the British camp, and offer his services to the English General. This intelligent native is the son of an Armenian named Warkê, who was settled at Adowa, by an Abyssinian woman, and had been educated by Dr. Wilson at Bombay,[2] so that he spoke English perfectly, and was of great use throughout the campaign. A proclamation had been disseminated as widely as possible by Colonel Merewether, declaring that the sole object of the English invasion was the rescue of the captives, that the quarrel was with King Theodore, and not with the Abyssinian nation, and

[1] Alluding to the transactions of Mr. Salt with the former, and Mr. Coffin with the latter. Râs Walda Selassyè was Kâsa's great great-uncle, and Sabagadis was his great-uncle.

[2] At the Free Church of Scotland Mission School.

that the people would be treated well and liberally. When Mercha stated the views of his master, it appeared that they were almost identical with those of the English Government. Kâsa, of course, desired that the operations against Theodore should be successful, that the English should then leave the country as soon as possible, that they should not assist the Egyptian enemy, and that no Consul should be appointed. A letter was also received from Theodore's other rebel, the Wakshum Gobazyé, offering friendship and assistance; and, of course, he being nearer to the terrible warrior whose power he had defied, was even more anxious for the rapid march of the English. Merewether, while still at Aden, had already established friendly relations with Menilek, the King of Shoa.

While Colonel Merewether was making these important arrangements at Senafé, and indeed a very few days after he left Mulkutto, Sir Charles Staveley arrived with the brigade that had been embarked at Sind under Brigadier-General Collings, consisting of the 33d Regiment, the G. 14. Armstrong battery of six 12-pounder guns, under Captain Murray, the Belooch regiment,[1] and the 3d Sind Horse. Sir Charles Staveley is an officer who has seen real service in the

[1] The 27th Bombay Native Infantry, not called Beloochees because it is composed of those people, but because stationed on the Belooch frontier.

Crimea; with great regimental experience, and a thorough knowledge of the details of his profession, he unites a readiness to assume all needful responsibilities, which was of the utmost importance at the moment of his arrival, and his energetic action was soon felt for good in all the departments. The Beloochees were at once pushed up into the pass, to work at the bad places at Sooroo and Raha-guddy, the artillery were sent to Komayli, and their horses to Senafé to escape the disease, and the 33d were ordered up to Senafé, arriving on January 12th. The Sind Horse came up to Senafé on the 16th. Sir Charles Staveley also adopted vigorous measures for burning all the carcases of dead animals in the pass, ordered soldiers to catch and temporarily to look after the stray mules, began to introduce a better organization into the Transport Train, and personally visited all the stations under his command. The conduct of affairs at Mulkutto had fallen into excellent hands.

Such was the position when Lieutenant-General Sir Robert Napier, Commander-in-Chief of the Abyssinian Expedition, arrived at Mulkutto, on board H.M.S. *Octavia*, on the 3d of January, 1868. He found most of the difficulties overcome, and with good reason did he congratulate the advanced force for the progress made in the expedition by the establishment of a firm footing on the highlands of Abyssinia. A desert shore, utterly devoid of resources, had been

converted into a very convenient port. After infinite labour, the best mountain pass leading to the highlands had been discovered, and the enormous difficulties of making a road up it for cart-traffic were nearly overcome. Those intractable robbers, the Shohos, had been turned into carriers, guides, and labourers. An advanced force was encamped on the Abyssinian plateau, and had secured the confidence of the natives; and friendly relations had been entered into with the great chiefs, up to the very gates of Magdala. The heat and burden of the day was indeed over.

CHAPTER V.

COUNTRY FROM SENAFÉ TO ADIGERAT.

Physical Geography and Geology—Botany—Birds—Mammalia—Senafé and its Inhabitants — Shumazano — Churches — Cheffa — Baraka — Debra Libanos at Goona-Goona—Adigerat—Palace of Sabagadis—Peasantry.

ABYSSINIA, with the mountainous region extending from its southern border nearly to the equator, is to Africa what the Neilgherries and other hill districts of the western ghauts are to India, and the Andean regions to South America. They are all lofty plateaux, with high ranges rising from them, and intersected by deep valleys, with the ocean comparatively near on one side, so that only torrents rush down the steep mountain sides to it, and so distant on the other as to afford space for the courses of great rivers. Thus the western ghauts have their Cauvery, Krishna, and Godavery on one side, and only small streams rushing off the steeper slopes into Malabar and the Concan on the other. The Andean plateaux have their Beni, Ucayali, and other mighty affluents of the Amazon to the east, and little fertilizing streams dashing down

their maritime sides into the Pacific on the west. Abyssinia has her Mareb, Takkazie, and Abai; the two latter bringing enriching floods to the Nile, on the west, and small torrents, which are dried up by the scorching heat as they approach the Red Sea, on the east. All three regions, though tropical, are at such an elevation as to enjoy a most delightful climate; but here the analogy ceases. Differences in the magnitude of the continents on which they are placed, in the position and size of adjoining oceans, and in the direction of prevailing winds, so influences the amount of heat and moisture enjoyed by each as to cause a marked distinction between these otherwise analogous regions of the three great continents. The deserts of Asia force the trade-wind to turn into a south-west monsoon, and deluge the western faces of the ghauts with rain from the clouds of the Indian Ocean during the summer; while, owing to the comparative narrowness of the the peninsula, the favoured hill districts of Southern India get a sprinkling also from the north-east monsoon. Of the three regions they are, perhaps, the most fortunately situated. The Andean plateaux have to look for their supplies of rain to the trade-wind alone, and even its Atlantic moisture has to run the gauntlet of all the thirsty forests of the Amazon before it reaches them. But the towering peaks of Illimani and the rest know how to do their duty when the clouds do come, and every drop is wrung out

for the benefit of those bright plains and valleys, which can hope for nothing from the rainless Pacific coast on their other flank. The Abyssinian highlands are less favourably situated than either of the other two: their moisture has far to come, and can only approach at one season. On one side is the boundless Sahara Desert; on the other, the narrow strip of the Red Sea, with the arid wastes of Arabia beyond. Nothing is to be got from the former, and but a sorry sprinkling along the coast, during the winter and spring months, from the latter, when easterly winds prevail; for the Red Sea is in the region of the north-east trades which have blown over vast tracts of land only. Abyssinia has to look to the equator for most of her moisture, when the sun comes to the north, after having pumped up the necessary water from the Indian Ocean. Then, from June to September, she gets her rainy season; for her mountains are high enough to reach and condense the moisture that is hurrying northwards, and to bring it down to deluge and fertilize her plateaux and valleys. But as the wind progresses northwards much of its moisture has already been discharged, and Northern Abyssinia is consequently much drier than the more southerly provinces.

The region which was traversed by the English troops is far from being the least interesting in Abyssinia. A series of mountains and plateaux, extending

north and south, for upwards of 300 miles, form the water-shed between the Nile and the Red Sea, and contain the springs and sources of Egypt's fertility. They are divided, with reference to their western streams, into three distinctly defined regions:—

1. The region drained by the affluents of the Mareb; 2. the region drained by the affluents of the Atbara; 3. the region drained by the affluents of the Abai.

The first of these is the one which the English troops first reached when they marched up the pass to Senafé. It comprises the southern part of the province of Akula-guzay, and that of Agamé, and, being most distant from the equator, whence moisture comes, is the driest of the three. This region consists of plateaux at a general elevation of 9,000 feet above the sea; of mountain masses and ridges rising to a height of from 9,000 to 11,000 feet; of wide valleys, surrounded by the plateaux, at a height of 8,000 feet; and of deep ravines and river-beds, elevated from 7,000 to 4,500 feet above the sea.

The plateaux stretch from north to south along the main line of the Abyssinian alps, and form their summit ridge; and they also extend over a considerable area to the westward, dividing the valleys from each other. They are composed of sandstone, overlaying the same schistose formation which is met with in the Senafé Pass. Their summit ridges, when

viewed from the valleys which they inclose, form a perfectly straight level line; and their sides, from the top to a depth of 50 or 100 feet, are scarped sandstone cliffs; but below these cliffs the schistose rocks, more or less disintegrated at the surface, form hill-sides which slope down more gradually to the valleys. Several flat-topped peaks rise from the plateaux, the most remarkable of which are Arabi Tereeki (two miles north of the camp at Senafé), which is 8,560 feet above the sea; Gonzobo, to the westward, and Sowayra to the east of Senafé; and Focada, Debra Matso, Goonda-goonda, and the mountain mass of Harat, in Agamé. The plateau from which Mount Sowayra rises is intersected by deep wild glens, overgrown with juniper, the drainage flowing to the Shumazano valley. The mount itself, which is 9,100 feet above the sea, consists of a range of lofty sandstone cliffs, on the very verge of the plateau, overlooking the Senafé pass. The sandstone plateaux, further to the westward, are separated completely from that which overlooks the passes leading to the coast by valleys and chains of lower hills. In South Akula-guzay they form the district of Wudukalee; and their long lines of perfectly-level summit ridge and scarped sides overlook the valleys of Shumazano and Mai Mena, and the deep gorge of the Hamas. In Agamé, the wide plain of Gullaba is a similar plateau, and so exactly forms the watershed of the country that, at one spot, streams

were flowing, on one side to the Mareb, and on the other to the Ragolay, within a few yards of each other. The flat-topped *ambas* of Debra Matso and Focada rise above this plateau.

The second great feature in this region is the valleys which are hemmed in by the loftier plateaux. That of Shumazano, including Senafé, is 7,000 feet above the sea, and five miles long by four. At its north-east angle was the British camp, pitched under the grand sandstone peaks and precipices of Senafé. The edges of the tilted strata of the schist rock, at an angle of 70° from north-west to south-east, crop out in every direction over the valley, with veins of quartz. The shallow soil is composed of the disintegrated rock, and is covered with stones and pebbles of white quartz. Here and there the rock rises up and forms isolated conical hills upon which the villages are built; but wherever these hills rise above a certain height, as in the case of the lofty peak of Saim, at the western end of the Shumazano valley, the summits are capped with sandstone, and occasionally trachyte and other volcanic rock occurs. This upper sandstone deposit appears to have been washed away in the valleys, until the schist which underlies it is exposed, while it remains to cover the plateaux and cap the isolated peaks which rise from the valleys. The schistose rock is first met with in the Senafé pass, at an elevation of 3,000 feet, and it is overlaid by the sandstone at 7,000; so that

the perpendicular depth of this formation must be roughly about 4,000 feet. Considering the angle at which the schistose strata are tilted, and the ease with which water can penetrate down them, owing partly to the frequently-recurring veins of quartz, I should be inclined to think that water would be found at great depths below the surface. The whole distance from Raha-guddy to Maiyen wells, in the pass, is devoid of water, while at the latter place and at Upper Sooroo, in the neighbourhood of which points the schistose rock rests upon the gneiss, fresh water occurs again. The Shumazano valley is watered by surface drainage, the water gradually drying up through the dry season; and there are a few scanty springs from the surrounding hills, issuing at the point where the schistose and sandstone formations meet. Along the eastern side of the valley there are a series of pools which furnished the water supply for the British camp at Senafé. A similar system of pools runs down the centre of the valley, and a third and more plentiful supply of water is met with along the base of the western hills, on what was called "Goose Plain." These three lines of drainage meet at the eastern end of the valley, and the water is carried down the magnificent Hagir Gorge to the Endayly river, a tributary of the Ragolay.

The valleys of Shumazano and the Mai Mena (to the southward) are separated along their northern

limits by the flat-topped sandstone plateau, but to the south the dividing hills do not reach an elevation sufficient to attain a sandstone covering, and therefore form lower peaks of schistose rock, over which the road passes. The Mai Mena, in its general features, resembles the Shumazano valley, except that, on its western side, there are deep and very picturesque gorges, with perennial streams of delicious water forming deep pools amongst the giant boulders of sandstone. This increased moisture appears to be due to the greater distance from the coast, as the rainfall increases as we advance westward. The fields along the banks of the Mai Mena are irrigated by small channels taken from the river; and the little tributary stream called Gornagunaf flows from the very fertile glen of Goonagoona at the south-west corner of the valley.

Another of these valleys, cutting down deep between the plateaux, is seen from the foot of the Focada mountain on the road to Adigerat, and well illustrates some of the most striking features of Abyssinian scenery. The spectator, standing at the foot of the Focada *amba*, and looking to the westward, has before him, at his own level, an apparently interminable plateau, with peaks and hills, such as that of Focada, rising out of it. But the plateau is also deeply cut into by valleys of considerable width and great depth. From his very feet the hills descend, first as perpendicular cliffs, and then with sloping sides overgrown

with trees; and far below there is the fertile valley of Mareta, with its villages and green crops. But the most remarkable feature of the landscape remains to be described. Just as peaks rise from the surface of the plateau, so hills rise up out of the valley itself, with sides exactly like those descending from the plateau, and with flat-topped summits corresponding exactly with the plateau level. One of these *valley* hills is the *amba* of Debra Damo, famous in the history of Da Gama's expedition.[1] The general effect is most striking: it gives the idea of a dead-level plain, which had been cut into by floods, forming ravines and valleys, but leaving portions of the plateau in their midst as islands; just as navvies leave earth pillars to measure the depth of their excavations.

The fertile plain of Adigerat is not strictly speaking one of these valleys, but rather a wide terrace at the foot of the lofty Harat mountains, whence deep ravines lead off the drainage to the Ouret valley, and thence to the Ragolay.

The third great physical feature of this region is the deep ravines and river-beds, which carry off the drainage on the one hand to the river Mareb, and on the other to the coast of the Red Sea. The deepest of these gorges are those towards the coast—namely, the Hagir, draining the Shumazano valley, the Mena, and those to the eastward of Adigerat, which present

[1] See page 21.

most glorious scenery. But the grandest of all is that of the Hamas, in the Mareb river-system immediately to the westward of Senafé. The Senafé rocks consist of four remarkable masses of sandstone which spring abruptly from the plain, and rise up into peaks and precipices. They are called Adana, Inkafilè, Siliuk, and Matara, the last being the highest and most abrupt. To the eastward these rocks face the Shumazano plain, but to the west they tower over a steep declivity which descends to the Hamas gorge. This declivity is composed entirely of schistose rock, the Senafé cliffs above being of sandstone. But it is cut up by deep water-courses, which are filled with gigantic masses of sandstone, hurled from the cliffs above. These boulders form deep caves, the lurking-places of panthers and hyænas. The elevation of the Hamas gorge, at the foot of the declivity, is 5,850 feet above the sea, or 1,600 below Senafé. There is no water in the Hamas in January, but in the rainy season it drains into the Tserena, a tributary of the Bellesa, which is an affluent of the Mareb.

One of the most interesting points for observation in this alpine region is the character of the vegetation with reference to the zones of elevation, from the Hamas gorge and the Senafé pass to the tops of the Harat and Sowayra peaks—a perpendicular height of more than 5,000 feet.

On the summits and slopes of the highest moun-

tains the flora is of a thoroughly temperate, and even English, character. The only tree is the juniper (*Juniperus procera Hochst.*),[1] and even that grows as a bush; while the most common plants are lavender, thyme, and other *labiatæ*, the wild rose (*Rosa Abyssinica Hochst.*), purple, white, and yellow gentians (*Swertiæ*), and *compositæ*, with a few ferns.

The plateaux have the same flora, but on the lower slopes of the hills and in the ravines it is enriched by many trees and shrubs of warmer climes. A Mediterranean mingles with English vegetation. The junipers, called *sahdi* by the natives, here grow as tall graceful trees. With them are the wild olive, *wera* of the natives,[2] yielding a hard useful wood; the two *Rhamnus* bushes[3] (*gayso* and *tsado*), the leaves and bark of which are used in brewing; the pretty flowering bush called *murs* (*Myrsine Africana*), which indeed is met with at every turn in Abyssinia;[4] the *wanzey* of Bruce (*Cordia Abyssinica*), with its panicles of white flowers; and several species of the fig tribe, such as the *khadoo* (*Ficus panifica*)

[1] M. Richard doubts whether Hochstetter is right in making a distinct species of the Abyssinian juniper. He can see no difference between specimens of the Abyssinian tree and the junipers which grow in abundance on the coast of Provence (*Juniperus Phœnicea*), except in their size. (Tentamen Floræ Abyssinicæ, ii. p. 278.)

[2] *Olea chrysophylla.*

[3] *Rhamnus pauciflorus* and *tsado.*

[4] Petit says that the Abyssinians mix the fruit of the *murs* with corn, as food for horses.

and the *chaganta* (*Ficus Schimperiana*). The former is a tall tree with small fruit, and roots fixing themselves in the clefts of the rocks, so that it crawls up the ravine sides, and clothes them with green. The undergrowth in the shady glens consists of roses, several *labiatæ*, jasmine, and clematis; while several kinds of ferns, particularly a very pretty maiden-hair, hang in masses over the streams.

The open plains below the plateaux, and upon which these shady glens in their sides open, are exposed to the rays of the sun, and are less plentifully covered with vegetation; but some large trees are scattered here and there. Near every village there are generally several venerable *dahros* (*Ficus religiosa*); glorious trees, whose wide spreading branches afford a grateful shade to the villagers: and in the low ground near pools or streams a fine tree of the willow genus, called *queha* (*Salix axillaris?*) is often met with. The soap plant, called *shivti* (*Pircunia Abyssinica*), a graceful twining shrub, which usually forms the hedges near villages, and a *solanum* with a large orange berry, which is used in curing hides (*Solanum campylacanthum*), are common bushes near inhabited places. The latter is called *ungûli* in the language of Tigré. The open plain, where it is not under the plough, is usually covered with a *labiate* bush, called by the natives *tchendog* (*Otostegia integrifolia*). It has a small yellow berry, and when it is in fruit it

sheds all its leaves. Amongst the rocks there is a pretty aloe with a bright orange or yellow spike, called *erreh* by the natives (*Aloe Abyssinica*). Besides many flowering herbs, there is a very beautiful amaryllis in the fields near Adigerat; and amongst the grasses, or rather sedges, the most important is the *quentee* (*Cyperus esculentus?*), the tubers or corms of which serve as food for the people in times of scarcity. Crowds of old women and children may be seen scattered over the plains in all directions, grubbing for these earth-nuts, which taste like chestnuts.

These are the principal wild plants in the first region we came to, which is drained by the Mareb. Most of them are equally common in the more southern regions; but as we advanced into a moister country we came upon other plants, which will be mentioned hereafter. The general appearance of the plateaux and plains is that of a comparatively bare country, with trees and bushes thinly scattered over it, and clumps or groves only occurring round villages and churches. But the glens and ravines in the plateau sides, each with its bright little spring, are often thickly wooded, and offer a delicious contrast to the open country.

The deep ravines and river-beds cut through the slaty rocks until they are less than 5,000 feet above the sea on the Mareb side; while to the east they

wind down through the mountain spurs until they open on the coast-plain, and form the passes into the interior. Here the vegetation of the loftier plains and plateaux gives place to acacias and calotropis, while the kol-quall is common to both. This euphorbia seems to have the widest range of any Abyssinian plant. It was met with on Guinea Fowl Plain, at about 4,500 feet; and I saw it on the Abuya-meder mountains at 10,000 feet above the sea.[1]

The birds of this part of Abyssinia are, speaking generally, more nearly allied to Southern than to Northern African types; and it was observed that they were divided roughly into four zones as regards altitude above the sea. The first is the coast zone, from the beach to the foot of the hills; the second,

[1] The botany of Abyssinia has been very thoroughly described. Bruce gives plates and descriptions of twenty-one plants. Robert Brown made a catalogue of 146 species brought home by Salt. Fresenius, in 1837, described sixty-six species collected by Dr. Ruppell. MM. Lefebvre, Petit, and Dillon collected 1,500 plants, of which three-fourths were new. The two latter were martyrs to science; Petit having been taken down by a crocodile while crossing a river, and Dillon dying of fever in the Mareb valley. Their fine collection was entrusted to M. Achille Richard, who published his "Tentamen Floræ Abyssinicæ" (2 vols.) in 1847. The collection of MM. Ferret and Galinier, and sixty-eight species brought home by M. Rochet d'Héricourt, were placed in the hands of M. Delile, Professor of Botany at Montpellier. But the greatest of the Abyssinian botanists is the veteran Dr. Schimper, who has been thirty years in the country, and must have nearly exhausted the flora of Tigré. He was sent out by the Botanical Society of Esslingen, and 1,600 of his plants have been named by Hochstetter and Steudel. Further results of his labours have been given to the world by Schweinfurth ("Beitrag zur Flora Æthiopiens," von Dr. Georg. Schweinfurth. Berlin, 1867).

the region of the passes; the third, the elevated valleys and highlands; and the fourth, the lofty plateaux to the south. Besides gulls and terns, there are comparatively few birds on the coast. Numerous kites hovered about the camp at Mulkutto; four species of vultures gorged upon the dead mules and camels on the road; and there was also a small brown eagle. The game birds on the coast-plain consisted of a very large true bustard, and a partridge with silver-grey plumage and the skin of the throat tinted with orange and crimson. Ostriches were seen, but none were shot.

In the Senafé pass the most remarkable bird of prey was the magnificent *lammergeyer*, which, though smaller than its Alpine and Himalayan brethren, presented a splendid appearance, circling about the lofty cliffs of the pass. A female *lammergeyer*, shot by Lieutenant Sturt, at Maiyen Wells, measured eight feet across the wings. A whole family of these huge birds bred in one of the masses of sandstone rock near Senafé, and might be seen about the camp, in every stage of plumage, from the dull black tints of the yearling bird to the brilliant orange of the adult. On the Abyssinian highlands birds of prey literally swarm. In many places ten or a dozen harriers might be counted at the same time. Kestrels are common, and there are numerous falcons, including a merlin, about the rocky ridges. A large buzzard, with dark grey

back and wings, snow-white belly, and bright chestnut tail, was perhaps the handsomest of the *raptores*. The groves round churches are often tenanted by a sparrow-hawk, closely resembling the Indian *besra;* and in the spring the long-legged, handsome Secretary Bird appeared in the neighbourhood of Adigerat, stalking about the plains, and feeding on lizards. It is called by the Abyssinians *Faras-Saitan*, or "The Devil's Horse." Old Father Lobo says that "this bird looks, at a distance, like a man dressed in feathers. It walks with an abundance of majesty till it finds itself pursued, and then takes wing and flies away."

Owls are rare. Mr. Blandford shot an eagle-owl, of small size and dull sepia plumage; and Lieutenant St. John got two common short-eared owls.

The *Corvidæ* form, perhaps, as remarkable a family as any among the birds of Abyssinia. The great *cor-vultus*, a hideous bird with a heavy vulturine beak, dull black plumage, and white patch on the back of the neck, is very common at heights above 7,000 feet; and there is another crow, of pure black plumage, whose short tail and long tertiaries give it quite the outline of a vulture, when on the wing. Three king-fishers were shot, but none were common; and we saw hoopoos, very beautiful bee-eaters, and a ground-cuckoo; also one small nightjar in a stony thicket, and a pied woodpecker on the trees of shady ravines.

Two magnificent rollers were shot: the whole plumage of one of them was of a most exquisite shining peach colour, and the other was a smaller bird with variegated blue feathers, remarkable for the elongated centre feathers of its tail, which project fifteen inches or more beyond the rest.

The swallows are numerous and interesting. The most remarkable closely resemble the *Hirundo filifera* of India, but the wirelike tail-feathers are hardly so pronounced. The common swift of England is not uncommon; and at elevations above 8,000 feet another larger swift was seen.

The *Nectariniæ* are the most beautiful birds in Abyssinia, rivalling the humming-birds of the New World in the gorgeous brilliancy of their plumage; but they are inconspicuous from their very small size. The prettiest has black plumage, shot with green and amethyst, with an orange crest. They are found at all elevations above the sea. Father Lobo tells a curious story of the honey-birds. He says that certain bees hide their honey in holes in the ground, which they cover so carefully, that they are seldom found, except by the help of these birds. When a honey-bird discovers any honey, it repairs immediately to the roadside, and as soon as it sees a traveller, it sings and claps its wings, making many motions to invite him to follow it. As soon as it sees that he is coming, it flies before him from tree to tree,

till it comes to the place where the bees have stored their treasure, and then begins to sing melodiously. The traveller takes the honey, but never fails to leave part of it for the bird, as a reward for the information.

The hornbills, called *abba-gumba* by the natives, are both remarkable in themselves and from the extraordinary differences in habit between them and their brethren in India. Those in the latter country never perch on the ground; but the curious Abyssinian birds feed entirely in the fields, stalking about through the bushes and across the plains, but roosting on the large dahro trees at night.[1] Besides the large black one, there were two others of pied plumage and smaller size.

One of the most remarkable objects in the Abyssinian landscape was the number of brilliantly-plumaged starlings. These birds are of the shape and size of common starlings; but they have deep shining blue plumage, with iridescent green wings. Up to the end of March they were not seen—at least on the Red Sea side of the watershed; but later in the year flocks of them were common as low down the pass as Maiyen Wells. They probably breed in April, as those shot early in that month had just moulted.

The beautiful plantain-eaters (Touraco), with their

1 "There is one bird of wonderful beauty, which I have seen in no other place, except Peru. It has, instead of a comb, a short horn upon its head, which is thick and round, and open at the top."—*Lobo*, p. 52.

crimson wings and bright green breasts, are common in the wooded ravines. The Abyssinians use them for decorating their altars. There are also weaver-birds and ox-birds. Large pigeons of handsome cinnamon plumage, spotted with white, frequent the trees and thickets near villages in large flocks; and several doves—some very small, with elongated tail-feathers —were observed. One species presented the rather curious phenomenon of migrating to the hills in the cool weather, and to the hot coast-plains in the summer. In April it was only found in the thickets of the Senafé pass, but in May and June it was met with in immense flocks about Komayli and Mulkutto, and right down to the sea.

Larks and wagtails of various sorts were everywhere common.

Among game birds the guinea-fowls were most numerous. They were found at all elevations where there was sufficient cover, in flocks varying from fifteen to a hundred or more. On level ground they are rather shy, but less cautious in the bottoms and on hills; and they have a curious habit of running round and round, cackling furiously all the time. From their strong convex wings, which protect the body, they are difficult to kill when running, but are easily brought down with No. 5 or 6 shot when on the wing. The best eating, but the rarest, game bird is a partridge about the size of the common

English partridge, and with nearly the same plumage, but of the true Francolin type. Two other partridges, miscalled "spur-fowl" by sportsmen, abound in the thickets, and on the hill-sides. The males of both have double spurs, and both are very noisy, crowing and strutting about the tops of the cliffs. Florikin were plentiful in some localities—splendid birds of the bustard tribe, with true game plumage on the breast and back, long black and white feathers in the wing, and slender graceful necks. Sand grouse were also very common, and snipe not uncommon in marshy ground.

The large Egyptian goose abounds on the highlands, especially about Senafé. It grazes in large flocks on the marshy plains, but apparently never takes the water. Common teal were also common; and there are large black cranes, which fly in two long lines, meeting at an acute angle, but are very difficult to get near.[1]

The mammalia were not so numerous or interesting as the birds. Large herds of baboons—the old males with great shaggy manes—ran on all fours over the hills, or sat digging for *quentee* roots, and were very common. It was curious to see the females carrying their young on their backs as they ran along. Lions

[1] I am indebted to Lieutenant St. John, R.E., the able Director of the Electric Telegraph, for most of this information respecting the birds of Abyssinia.

and leopards were not met with on the line of march, except one or two in the Degonta pass. They appear to be confined to the hot valleys, occasionally ranging up the hills; and to slay a lion is considered the feat of a great warrior in Abyssinia. Wild cats were occasionally shot. But hyænas literally swarm everywhere, prowling about and making a horrible noise all night. The largest and most hideous is the laughing hyæna, which infested all the camps in great numbers. They are cowardly brutes; but we were told that occasionally, if they caught a solitary person away from all help, they would give a peculiar cry and bring down a pack of them to attack him. The jackals were also common, of two kinds.

The large *koodoo* antelope, with long spiral horns, was rarely seen. Colonel Loch shot one near Senafé. But a smaller one, called *sasha*, with a very small head and short straight horns, is very common in rocky places. It has stiff hair, which pulls out like hedgehog quills. The Beni-Israel gazelle, a most graceful little creature, abounded on the coast-plain. There were plenty of small hares on all the hill-sides, and a *hyrax*, or cony, in the clefts of rocks, as well as an ichneumon. The huge and ugly Ethiopian wart-hog was met with occasionally, and, after much trouble, Lieutenant Gordon of the 3d Bombay Cavalry succeeded in shooting one. Nothing can be con-

ceived more hideous and repulsive than the head of this animal, with warts on the cheeks, and tusks turned upwards; but it is not a formidable brute like the mighty boar of India. The wart-hog frequents low cover on the plateaux, and feeds on roots, creeping along in search of them on its bent fore-feet, and grubbing them up with its huge tusks.

Our first acquaintance with the Abyssinian people was formed at Senafé and in the adjacent Shumazano valley. The village of Senafé itself, at the foot of a grand mass of sandstone rocks, is inhabited by Muhammedans, of Shoho extraction. It consists of about a dozen houses built of rough stone and mud, with flat roofs—branches being laid in rows across the beams, and covered with mud. Broken jars serve as chimneys, being plastered into the roof. The outer door, very roughly formed with wooden posts and lintel, leads into a large, low, outer hall, with roof supported on wooden pillars; which serves as a stable for cattle and goats, while a mud platform along one side is the sleeping-place for guests and servants. Two doorways lead from this hall to two much smaller chambers, occupied by the family. The village numbers about 240 souls, a small-boned people with good features, but very dark, and with coarse hair in plaits. Shûm Omar, the chief, was an excellent man, and exceedingly useful to General Merewether in making arrangements respecting native transport.

But it is not so certain how he would behave to a solitary traveller. When poor Dr. Krapf, tattered, hungry, and penniless, was making his way down to the coast in 1842, this very man's father stopped him, and positively refused to let him proceed without paying toll. Krapf had nothing to give, and at last the puggery off his hat was accepted. Ayto Samuel, the King's chamberlain, is also a native of Senafé.

The men of this Shumazano district wear cotton drawers and a shâma or cloak, a curved sword on the right side, a long spear, and a leathern shield. Their heads are always bare, and covered with butter. The women are pretty when very young, but filthily dirty. They wear a leathern petticoat and mantle, often ornamented with cowrie-shells, and necklaces of beads. The people seldom eat animal food, living on milk, barley, tef bread, and chile pepper. In times of scarcity they eat dried locusts mixed with honey, which is some small satisfaction to them after those pests have destroyed their crops; and the women and children also grub for *quentee* roots in the fields. They have two kinds of fermented liquors: one a very pleasant mead called *tej*, made with honey and water; with the bark of a root called *tsado* "to temper the fulsomeness of the honey," as old Tellez says. The other beer is not so good. It is made from barley and the leaf of a plant called *gayso* (*Rhamnus pauciflorus*).

The men are lazy and consequential. They may be seen half the day, sitting in conclave with their spears stuck on end, and gossiping. The women and children do all the work. They came in crowds to the camp to sell firewood and cut grass, and soon learnt to cry the Indian names for their wares. Some of them had very engaging manners. A rather pretty girl consented to sit at our tent door to be sketched, and Sir Charles Staveley gave her a necklace. Next day she brought a large bundle of firewood, representing a day's work, and laid it down at the tent door as a return present. But beggars and cripples are very numerous, and there appears to be much misery in the country.

Senafé is the last of the Muhammedan villages: all beyond are Christian. They are either scattered over the Shumazano plain, built on isolated masses of rock, or are on the sides of the surrounding hills; the country being either under the plough, or, near where the water flows, presenting rich pasture land. The largest village in Shumazano is called Akhfessee, and overlooks the bright green valley which was named "Goose Plain," from the number of geese that frequented it before it was too much shot over. Here dwelt Ayto Gosho, the governor of the district, appointed by Kâsa of Tigré. He is a tall, stout personage, wearing a silken dress of honour, with a bland face concealing cunning—altogether too plausible a

man. His large *adderash*, or hall,[1] is supported on timber pillars, and contained a fire in the middle, several sheep and calves, the plough and corn-rake, and two gigantic earthen jars, eight feet high, forming the family granary. He spread a handsome Persian mat on the *ŭlga* or bedstead[2] for our reception, and his sons brought us *tej* in huge Bavarian tumblers, and *tef* cakes. Beyond the *adderash* was the *elfinè*,[3] or women's apartment; and upstairs he had a small sleeping-room. The market of his district was held every Thursday, on the ridge dividing the Shumazano and Mena valleys, just behind the village of Akhfessee—a very busy and interesting sight. Upwards of two thousand men and women congregate together on these market days, selling grain, grass, hides, ghee, mules, and bullocks, honey, chilies, and onions. In the thick of it might be seen that most zealous and indefatigable of Commissariat officers, Lieutenant Shewell, with his interpreter, bargaining away with imperturbable good-nature.

The churches are not in the villages, but are built in the open country, there being one to several parishes.

[1] Isenberg, p. 134. He refers to Isa. xxii. 8, for a Hebrew word used in the same sense. The word has only four letters in Amharic, *A. Dă. Ră. Sh.* But the spelling in the text is nearest to the way it is pronounced.

[2] An Abyssinian bedstead is made of an oblong frame of wood, resting on four solid carved legs, with leather thongs twisted across in a network. Nearly every house has one or more.

[3] Isenberg refers to the word translated "chamber," in the Song of Solomon iii. 4, as being used in the same sense.

That of Cheffa is a good representative specimen of the humble parish churches of Tigré. It is about two miles from Senafé, and is surrounded by a low stone wall. On the north side there is a door leading into a roomy chamber, with a roof supported on pillars, which is intended as a rest-house for travellers. Passing through it, we entered the enclosure surrounding the church, where the people of the neighbouring villages are buried. Two fine old acacia trees stand in the eastern corner, with a cross-beam secured to their trunks, from which three long slabs of hard stone, of different thicknesses were suspended.[1] This was the peal of bells. The church is oblong, with a flat roof, like the houses in this part of Tigré. It is built of sandstone and mud, with three projecting courses of slate. The walls are not more than twelve feet high, and there is a central tower over the holy place, which rises to about twenty feet. The porch is formed by three wooden pillars. The interior is very small, the central low tower being supported by rough wooden pillars, across which a curtain is hung, concealing the *tabot*, or ark, from the congregation. This sacred ark is a piece of rough furniture with three shelves. On the first shelf was a branch of wild thyme; on the second a printed Bible in Amharic, and a very large parchment Bible; and on the third several processional

[1] Like the *Nâkûs* of the Christians in the Lebanon, and elsewhere in the East.

and hand crosses, beautifully worked in bronze and iron.

A more important church is that of Baraka, in the next valley. Crossing the ridge separating the two valleys of Shumazano and Mena, the road leaves the village of Barakit on the right, with large kol-quall trees growing round it. In January they were in fruit, and a bunch of bright red berries tipped the end of each branch, giving an effect almost as gay as rhododendrons in flower. The road then descends over rough slate-rock into the grassy plain, with the Mena flowing across the southern end. Baraka is a village at the foot of the western range of hills, here called Wudukalee. It is just at the entrance of a gorge running east and west, and some magnificent shady *dahro* trees mark the spot from a distance. At the opening of the gorge is the priest's house, with a small patch of kitchen-garden in front of it, containing cabbages allowed to grow to a height of five feet, red pepper with a long pod, tobacco, mint, and tomatoes. Thence a little path leads up the glen, which is densely shaded by trees, crosses a little bubbling rivulet, and stops at the church dedicated to St. Romanos. The church is built against the side of a perpendicular cliff, several hundred feet high, so that the live rock forms the back wall. The front wall is covered with rude paintings, damaged by time and damp. In the interior a carved wooden archway

opens upon the holy place, in which the *tabot* stands, which is rich in crosses and banners, chalices, and old Geez manuscripts. By the side of the church a doorway leads into an enclosure under the overhanging cliff, and up some steps to a small square opening, by which a view is obtained of a cavern containing the bones of St. Romanos and three hundred Christian martyrs. This holy man is said to have been a Greek or Egyptian monk of the sixth century, who dwelt here with his converted flock, and the whole party was miraculously kept alive by browsing on the grass in the Mena valley. But one day an unconverted native killed one of the converts, while he was browsing, with a spear-thrust; and the rest, with Romanos at their head, declaring that they were not going to expose themselves to that sort of thing, went and died in the cave. The church is said to have been founded by King Gabra Maskal,[1] son of Caleb. It will be remembered that the Portuguese, under Da Gama, rested at Baraka, and reverently took relics out of the cave.[2]

The situation of the little church and shrine is exceedingly picturesque, with the beetling cliffs rising up on either side of the glen, and the tall junipers and *khadoo* figs nearly concealing the sky, while bright gleams of sunlight burst here and there through the leafy shade. A clear stream flows through the glen,

[1] "Servant of the Cross."

[2] See page 23.

finding its way over and round enormous boulders of sandstone, and here and there forming deep pools, where masses of maiden-hair and other ferns hang in soft clusters over the water. Here the old priest, Kesh Walda Gârîma, who, for all his piety, would sell anything in his church for a few dollars, used to sit reading the Psalms in the cool of the evening.

The road from Senafé to Adigerat leaves Baraka to the right, and enters the beautiful little valley of Goona-goona, which is bounded on the north side by perpendicular precipices, and to the south by the high mountains of Gula-mukado. The village has mighty boulders and huge venerable dahro trees round it, and at a short distance there is a thickly-wooded glen at the foot of the cliffs. The valley is carefully irrigated from the little stream for barley crops, grown in terraces; and at the head of the gorge the water falls over the cliffs in a thin silvery stream, from a height of 150 feet, into a basin of rocks concealed by myrsine and other flowering shrubs. It is a sad proof of the insecurity of the country, that the village of Goona-goona, in this lovely spot, was entirely deserted, owing to the depredations and excesses of a robber chief, named Hagûs, who was out in rebellion against Kâsa.

On a narrow ledge, half-way up the cliff overhanging Goona-goona, stands the curious church of Debra Libânos. The ledge is not more than four to six feet wide, and wansey, juniper, and dahro trees

grow in the chinks and crannies; while in one place a clump of tall reeds conceals a delicious little pool in the rock, which lies in deep shade, fringed by clusters of maiden-hair. From the ledge there is a perpendicular drop of 500 feet, and the cliffs rise to a far greater height above. At the end of about a hundred yards—a giddy walk—the church is reached, one side and half the roof of which is formed out of the overhanging rock. The rest is of mud and stone, with small square windows looking on the valley; the outer wall being quite on the verge of the precipice. The church is on the same plan as that of Baraka; but it has two rather good timber arches, richly carved, under the tower, which, in the gloomy half-light, give a fine effect. The priests showed us the usual old parchment manuscripts, crosses, vestments, and copper chalices and pattens. Behind the church, on an inaccessible shelf, there is a clump of graceful date palms; and outside are the usual stones for grinding flour for the sacramental bread. The church is exactly over the wooded glen near the village, and from the valley below it has a most remarkable appearance. The windows appear to be pierced in the rock itself, and they peep out of masses of foliage, while the feathery palms wave to and fro above them.

From Goona-goona the road to Adigerat passes up a steep ascent to the wide plain of Gullaba, skirts the Focada Hill, whence there is the striking view of

Debra Damo already described, passes along the east side of the hills, and descends by the steep ghaut of Khursabur to the plain of Adigerat.

A very high range of mountains rises immediately above Adigerat. This town was the home and favourite abode of the gallant Sabagadis, the Bayard of Abyssinia, and ruler of Tigré from 1818 to 1830.[1]

The place is now fallen from its former grandeur, and consists of a few houses and many ruins, clustering round a rocky eminence, on which is the church and the ruined palace of Sabagadis. The church is surrounded by an enclosure, planted with large kol-quall trees. The building is square, and is approached through a spacious traveller's rest-house on one side of the wall bounding the churchyard. It is entered by two doors on each side, which lead into the outer court or cloister; but we were not admitted into the holy place. The outer walls are elaborately painted with frescoes, quite equal to those of mediæval England —no perspective, but rich colouring and bold treatment. On the west side are some of the deeds of Sabagadis—his defeat of his rival Gabra Mikhail (Garenchal, as the Agamé people call him), and his prowess against a lion and an elephant. Round the other walls are rude portraits of Abyssinian saints, two gigantic angels, and Pharaoh overwhelmed in the Red Sea, with his soldiers holding their muskets over

[1] See page 52.

their heads, in the vain attempt to keep them dry. The ground between the pictures is coloured in squares imitating diaper-work; and lofty folding-doors, with three steps leading to them, and corresponding recesses in the sides and lintel, similarly coloured, open on the Holy of Holies. This outer cloister is called Kenê-mahelêt, and is the place where the congregation assemble while the priests officiate and give the Sacrament from the door leading to the *tabot*, or ark.

The palace of Sabagadis, now in ruins, is a very grand edifice for Abyssinia. A spacious court-yard leads to the great doors opening on the *adderash*, or reception-hall; and above this entrance, twenty feet from the ground, there is a gallery, approached by a staircase on one side. Here Sabagadis was accustomed to judge the people. The hall is 64 feet long by 25, and about 22 in height. The roof had fallen in. At the end opposite the entrance there is a lofty arch, within which is a double doorway leading to an inner chamber. Here the throne (an *alǧa*, or bedstead) was placed for the Dadjaz-matsh when his chiefs feasted in the great hall. The inner chamber has a circular roof of coloured rope-work, tastefully designed, and four alcoves, before which curtains were hung, which give it the form of a cross. A door at the end of one of these recesses leads across the court to a circular building with an upper storey. On the ground floor the favourite horses had their stables, and above these

was a handsome room, approached by a staircase, for the use of the ladies of the family: it was called the *elfinè*. The outer wall is round; but the inner chamber, with a passage round it, is square, having a recess opening on a double window in the outer wall, at each of the four sides. The ceiling, again, is circular, being made so by an arrangement of curved timber knees at each corner; and it had been domed and richly ornamented. This apartment must have been both cheerful and airy, with fine views of the Adigerat plain from the windows. The palace appears to have been abandoned after the fall of Sabagadis; and his son Sabhât,[1] who is now the head of the family, has a house below the town, on the plain, immediately in front of the British camp.

The house of Sabhât is surrounded by a high wall, and consists of a two-storied tower, with roofed sheds on the top, pierced for musketry, and a circular *elfinè* with thatched roof. Sabhât himself was taken away as a hostage by Wakshum Gobazyé, when he made his inroad into Tigré in 1866. His young grass widow, the fair Tayech, lives there, waiting for his return; and when, in acknowledgment of presents of bread and honey, General Merewether sent her some silks, she replied that she would rather have a little money to send to her captive husband. A son of Sabhât, a little fellow about twelve years old, with a crimson fillet round his brow and lots of butter on his head, came

[1] See page 55.

out to walk with us, with a short double-barrelled gun slung on his back, with one hammer off, and a broken stock spliced with cowhide. He declared that, when he grew up, he would release his father.

The market day at Adigerat is on Mondays; and it is a busier sight than the country gathering in Shumazano, for this is the capital of the important province of Agamé. It is held on a wide open space south of the church. There is a great crowd of several hundred people, causing a busy humming noise; and the goods offered for sale consisted of kosso and other drugs, honey, red and green chilies, tobacco, coffee, cotton cloth, beans, corn, hides, fowls, sheep, goats, cows, and a few mules. Salt in blocks, for small change, was sold at the rate of twenty-eight pieces to the dollar.

In the evening the roads were thronged with country-people returning to their villages far and near. They seemed to be well-to-do and comfortable, but the unsettled state of the country renders life and property very insecure. Yet they were cheerful and well conditioned, both in the provinces of Akulaguzay and Agamé, and never failed to greet the traveller with a cheerful *salâm* or *kamay haderow*[1] as they passed. Our arrival was certainly hailed with pleasure, and our departure regretted, by the Tigré peasants along our line of march.

[1] "Good morning."

CHAPTER VI.

THE MARCH FROM MULKUTTO TO ADIGERAT.

THE task which the Abyssinian expeditionary force had to accomplish was to march over 400 miles of a mountainous and little-known region to the camp or fortress occupied by King Theodore, and to oblige him to release the English officers whom he detained in captivity. Those officers were in the *amba* of Magdala, while in October the King had broken up his camp at Debra Tabor, his power entirely gone, his once great empire wholly in the hands of rebels, and was marching slowly towards his last stronghold, encumbered by his guns and mortars, and by much heavy baggage. In October, also, Colonel Merewether had landed in Annesley Bay with the advanced brigade, and had, during the two following months, formed a convenient port, conciliated the Shoho tribes on the coast, discovered the best pass into the interior, nearly completed a road up it, established the brigade at Senafé on the highlands, and opened friendly relations with the new rulers of the country, up to the

very gates of Magdala. When the Commander-in-chief landed, there remained to organize a transport train, and to march over a fine country, yielding corn, grass, wood, cattle, and means of transport, with a friendly population and no enemy in the field, in one of the most healthy climates in the world, either to Magdala or to some point on Theodore's line of march. The English and the Abyssinian king would advance on two lines which meet at Magdala, and form almost a right angle.

The force which Sir Robert Napier considered necessary for the successful performance of this work amounted to upwards of 16,000 men, exclusive of followers and men employed in the Transport Train. It consisted of four regiments of English and ten of Native Infantry; four regiments of Native Cavalry and the 3d Dragoon Guards; a company of English and seven companies of Native Sappers and Miners; six 9-pounder Armstrong guns, twelve small steel guns, two 8-inch mortars, and Mountain Trains from Bombay and Bengal; besides a Bengal Cooly Corps of 1,439, and Bombay Army Works Corps of 867 men.[1] This

[1] The following is the number and composition of this army, as given in the order for the embarkation:—

	Men.		Men.
English Infantry—33d	810	Brought forward	3,174
,, 4th	722	Native Infantry—10th (Bombay)	677
,, 45th	791	,, 27th (Belooch.)	722
,, 26th	851	,, 3d (Bombay)	688
Carried forward	3,174	Carried forward	5,261

makes a force of 16,189 men, to which must be added 3,233 followers,[1] and 12,640 men belonging to the Transport Train, making a total of 32,062 men, exclusive of the Commissariat and Quartermaster-General's Departments, and of the officers and followers attached to the Head-Quarters' Staff, and those of the different generals. It required 669 troop-ships,[2] most of them steamers, to convey this great

	Men.
Brought forward...	5,261
Native Infantry—25th (Bombay).....	592
,, 2d ,,	693
,, 18th ,,	705
,, 5th ,,	694
,, 8th ,,	694
,, 21st (Punjaub) ...	737
,, 23d (Punjaub Pioneers).....	789
,, 21st (Bombay 1st Co.)	66
	10,231
English Engineers, 10th Company ...	86
Native Sappers (Bombay, 1, 2, 3, 4 Cos.).....	470
(Madras, G, H, K Cos.).....	375
	845

	Men.
Artillery—G, 14. (six 9-pounder Armstrongs)	164
,, A, 21. (six steel guns).....	99
,, B, 21. ,, ,,	82
,, Bengal Mountain Train ...	156
,, Bombay ,, ,, ...	156
	657
Cavalry—3d Dragoon Guards	214
,, 3d Bombay	460
,, 3d Sind Horse.....	458
,, 12th Bengal.....	477
,, 10th ,, ...	455
	2,064
Bengal Cooly Corps	1,439
Bombay Army Works Corps..... ...	867
	2,306

TOTAL.

Infantry	10,231
Sappers and Miners.....	931
Artillery	657
Cavalry.....	2,064
Cooly and Army Works Corps	2,306
	16,189

[1] Originally 26,214 followers landed.

[2] 688 were chartered, but 19 did not proceed beyond Aden. The cost of the transports was £433,028 per month, and the total tonnage 306,524.

army and all the necessary stores and provisions to Annesley Bay, and many were retained there constantly to condense water for the camp at Mulkutto.[1]

The enemy, under King Theodore, had about 3,000 men armed with percussion muzzle-loaders, about 1,000 matchlock men, a mob of spearmen, and about thirty pieces of ordnance, which his people did not understand the use of, to oppose this enormous disciplined army. The whole country was in arms against him, and the two rulers occupying the line of march were eager to give all the assistance in their power to his enemies. He was, in fact, as an exhausted hunted lion wearily seeking his lair, to die there unconquered and at bay.

When Sir Robert Napier landed on the 7th of January, upwards of 7,500 troops had already arrived, and the Commissariat Department had provisions at Mulkutto for 2,000 European troops for three, and for 7,000 Native troops for six months. Two courses were then open to him in the conduct of the campaign. It might have been decided that the great object was to intercept Theodore in his flank march before he reached Magdala, and so prevent the prisoners from again falling into his power. Mulkutto is but thirty easy marches from Magdala, and, even if the march had not been commenced until the end of January, a small force pushed vigorously forward would have

[1] A total of 7,286,926 gallons was condensed by the steamers in the bay.

attained the object in view, provided that the King stuck by his guns, and did not abandon them in order to secure his retreat to Magdala, which place he could have reached in a few days at any time, by forced marches without *impedimenta*. But the General commanding must, to a great extent, have relied on the resources of the country both for supplies and transport; and temporarily, until supports could be brought up, on the friendliness of the people for keeping communications open with his base. The alternative plan—the plan on which the campaign was actually conducted—allowed Theodore to reach Magdala at his leisure, with all his guns, and thus placed the captives at his mercy, while the English general was maturing arrangements on so large and complete a scale as to leave no room for any possible mischance to his troops. The former plan, if successful, would have secured the captives from danger, and brought the campaign to a conclusion in the shortest possible time, and at the smallest possible cost. The latter plan exposed the captives to desperate risk, for their fate was allowed to depend solely on the policy or humanity of Theodore, and it involved enormously disproportionate outlay as regarded the work to be done, and great loss of time.

The first more vigorous and adventurous mode of proceeding was evidently, at first sight, the most obvious and natural course, for Sir Robert Napier

considered it necessary to give his reasons for not adopting it: and a narrative of the expedition would be incomplete which did not record what was said at the time, with reference to intercepting Theodore on his flank march.

On the one hand, Sir Robert Napier wrote, on January 20th, that although strategists in England might be of opinion that an opportunity was let slip of attacking Theodore at a disadvantage during his flank march, yet that by abandoning his guns he could at any time reach Magdala, and no degree of celerity short of the speed of wings could convey a force between him and his destination before he could reach the latter.[1] Sir Robert Napier added that, even if circumstances had indicated the propriety of making the attempt, the means were not at his disposal, as the troops at Senafé were without supplies sufficient to enable them to move.

On the other hand it was urged that, although Theodore might be able to reach Magdàla at any time by abandoning his guns, yet that, considering that the prestige of those guns was his main if not his only protection from being attacked and overwhelmed by the rebels, it might safely be calculated that nothing would ever induce him to sacrifice them;[2]

[1] Memorandum by Sir Robert Napier, dated January 20th, 1868. Sent in a despatch to the Secretary of State for India, dated January 22nd.

[2] He stuck by his guns to the last, and did not reach Magdala with them until March 30th. Nothing, indeed, would have induced him to abandon

that there were sufficient supplies at Senafé to enable 2,000 men to march to Magdala without being entirely dependent on the resources of the country, which, however, were not to be despised;[1] and that the extreme danger of leaving the fate of the captives to the mercy of a capricious tyrant not only justified but demanded that an attempt at least should be made to prevent it.

But, on January 20th, Sir Robert Napier still retained the opinion that it was necessary to have six months' supplies for 9,500 men stored at Senafé, before he advanced beyond that station;[2] and he was then satisfied that for any real and permanent advance he must be independent of the resources of the country.[3] Under these circumstances, a campaign of at least two years' duration was inevitable, as it would certainly take that time to march a force to Magdala, furnished with provisions so as to be entirely independent of country produce, and have six months'

them. Old Râs Walda Selassyè entertained the same feeling about artillery He said to Pearce, "The two guns your king sent make all my enemies fear me, both upon the plains and upon the ambas; and, if I were to let you go, who would know how to use them?"—*Pearce's Life.*

[1] On the 20th of January there were stored at Senafé, 15 days of flour, 26 of biscuit, 40 of rice, 110 of preserved potatoes, 80 of compressed vegetables, 14 of rum, 16 of sugar, and 37 of tea, for 1,000 English troops; and 69 days of rice, 41 of flour, 64 of dholl, 35 of salt, for 1,000 native troops; besides a quantity of stores, and 27,000 lbs. of ghee on the way up. Abundant supplies of meat could be purchased on the road.

[2] Political Memorandum, January 20th, 1868.

[3] Demi-official Note to the Governor of Bombay, January 7th, 1868.

supplies stored at Senafé. This view was, however, deliberately taken, and the whole of the month of January was devoted to sending supplies up to Senafé, and endeavouring to organize an efficient Transport Train. Meanwhile the pass had been made practicable for wheel traffic by the end of January; and on the 30th, seventy-four carts, laden with Commissariat stores, arrived at Senafé.

The organization of an efficient Transport Train was the point of all others which demanded most attention, for, in a mountainous country like Abyssinia, upon it the progress of the army mainly depended. Yet, notwithstanding the greatest zeal and the most unremitting labour on the part of the officers in charge of this department, the Transport Train as an organization for conveying the stores and supplies of an army was not efficient. For there was not a proper pack saddle in the country, and not a man who knew either how to load or how to drive a mule. Nor did any one acquire that knowledge; and it must earnestly be hoped that none of the methods of loading and driving mules practised in Abyssinia, will be retained as traditions for future use.

Owing to starvation and cruelty, the mules had dwindled down to less than 5,000, and the camels to 1,100, when Sir Robert Napier landed at Mulkutto; but fresh supplies continued to arrive, and during the month of February, 5,526 mules, camels, and

pack-bullocks were landed, besides forty-four elephants.[1]

The organization of the Transport Train was entrusted to Major Warden, who had served in the same department in the Crimea, with a large staff of officers, inspectors, and drivers. The whole train was divided into fourteen divisions,[2] each to consist of 2,000 animals; and the proportion of drivers to animals, at first fixed at one to three, was afterwards altered, during the advance on Magdala, to a soldier or muleteer for every mule. Each division consisted of 1 captain, 2 subalterns, 4 European inspectors (being men who had volunteered from regiments in India), 20 troop-sergeants, 80 sergeants, 667 muleteers, 23 farriers and blacksmiths. The muleteers at first consisted of the vilest refuse of Eastern cities and of Bombay; and their wanton barbarous cruelty to the mules, and extreme insubordination, led to their being discharged. From January to March, 2,100 were sent back to Suez, and replaced by 5,000 respectable Punjabees. At the close of the campaign there were 12,000 muleteers, 400 native and 160 European inspectors, and 80 commissioned officers, in the Trans-

[1] The total number of animals landed at Mulkutto was as follows:—Horses, 2,538; elephants, 44; mules, 16,022; ponies, 1,651; camels, 5,733; donkeys, 1,759; bullocks, 7,071; sheep, 12,839.

[2] Divisions:—A, mules; B, bullocks; C, carts; D, mules; E, mules; F, bullocks; G, mules; H, camels; K, camels; L, mules; M, mules (Lahore); N, mules (Rawul Pindee); O, bullocks; P, camels.

port Train. Captain Hand, who had charge of what was called the Highland Train from Senafé to Magdala, trained and drilled his men to their work, and kept them in a strict state of discipline ; but there was no chance of forming an efficient train without proper pack-saddles, and with a system of dragging, instead of driving the mules.

Mules have been used, for several centuries, as the chief or sole means of land carriage in Persia, in Spain, in South America, in California, in Mexico, and in every one of those countries experience has taught men to adopt the same pack-saddle, and to eschew all wood and iron in its construction. This saddle is the *aparejo* of Spain and South America. It consists of two well-stuffed hide cushions, about three and a half feet long by two and a half, joined together along the top, so that, whatever the weight of the load, the saddle never can touch the ridge of the mule's back, and a current of air passes freely through. The weight of an *aparejo* is about thirty pounds, and it should be frequently stuffed afresh through holes in the inner sides. The load is secured by a *riata*, or lashing-cord ; and an *arriero* who is worth his salt secures it so that nothing, neither steep ascents nor descents, can displace or move it. *Sudaderos*, or sweating-cloths, and blankets are placed on the mule's back, under the *aparejo ;* and the *cinche*, or girth, is of canvas.

It is a very extraordinary thing that there was not a single *aparejo* in Abyssinia. Instead of procuring pack-saddles from mule countries, they were made from patterns at Woolwich, Suez, or India. The first was the general-service saddle used in the Crimea, probably the very worst that could possibly be invented; but, luckily for the mules, these saddles were condemned, though not before a vessel had been filled with them, and was on the point of sailing. The Suez saddle cannot be said to be worse than the Crimean, but it was nearly as bad. It was a structure between a hatchway-ladder and a hen-coop, and, as even the most inexperienced officer could see that it would kill any mule that was tortured with it, in a very short time the Suez saddle was also condemned.

The Otago pattern saddle was an improvement on these, and was not ill adapted for carrying light loads of a fixed size and shape, and this was no doubt what it was originally intended for. It is merely a copy of Mr. Gregory's horse pack-saddle. That great Australian explorer was supplied from England with stupendous structures, similar to the Crimean or Suez patterns, which he condemned at once, and adopted a plan of his own during his expedition of 1855–57. It consisted of two boards of Australian cedar, about twenty inches long by seven, connected by two bows of iron, arching well clear of the horse's back, with hooks on each side for hanging the bags to. Pads

were attached to the boards by thongs, so that they could be taken off and re-stuffed at pleasure. A thick felted cloth was placed between the mule's back and the pads. But these pack-saddles were simply intended for carrying canvas bags slung to the hooks, of a size and shape exactly suited to the size of the pads, and for this purpose they were well adapted.[1] Nothing else was allowed to be put on the horses' backs. But for general service,—that is, for carrying loads of every size, shape, and weight, such as is required in a campaign,—these little horse pack-saddles of Mr. Gregory's were neither suited nor intended. The Otago pattern was simply a complicated and much heavier form of the Gregory saddle. It weighed 43 lbs., and was utterly unfitted for general service, galling the shoulders and hips of the mules cruelly, besides being unprovided with cloths or blankets. Its only recommendation was that the iron hooks made it easy to hang on the loads without trouble—a great point for loafers and tinkers, though not for real muleteers; for the hooks were too low, and the loads hung loosely down, often knocking against the mule's flanks and legs. Like Mr. Gregory's saddle, the Otago was suited for a small load made up specially for it; and for that reason the modifications of it used for carrying the small steel guns,

[1] See Mr. Baines's account of this saddle, in his capital little work, entitled "Shifts and Expedients of Camp Life."

their carriages, and gear, answered their purpose tolerably well. The other pack-saddles to be seen in the Abyssinian Transport Train were different forms of the pad used in India, of various degrees of demerit,[1] with *suleetahs*, or bags, for the loads. The usual position of these *suleetahs* was dangling between the mule's legs, especially in going up and down hills.

The evils arising from the badness of the saddles were increased by the ignorance and stupidity of the men who had to load the mules, and from a want of method; and the Director piteously reports that for one man to load three unbroken mules was an impossibility, while, when two or three combined together, the other mules would break from their pickets, or roll: thus hours passed in simply loading.[2] But to give some idea of the difference between efficient mule-driving and the Abyssinian Transport Train, let us imagine two scenes, one often witnessed by English buccaneers in the seventeenth century, the other by Shohos in the Senafé pass in the year of grace 1868.

[1] The Punjab pad, weighing 34 lbs., was the best. But the two sides, instead of meeting in a high point like an *aparejo*, were secured to each other by a band, which stretched across the mule's back, and became tighter according to the weight of the load. There is nothing to prevent the load, in the *suleetahs*, from slipping. The Bombay pad, weighing 40 lbs., was badly made and unwieldy, while the Bombay Arsenal pad was the worst of all, galling the mules fearfully.

[2] Report on the Transport Train in the *London Gazette*, August 7, 1868.

And first the buccaneers. They are sitting on the bough of a tree in a dense forest, overlooking a rocky path ten times as bad as anything we saw in Abyssinia. Presently the clear silvery tinkle of the *madrina's* bell is heard, and she comes round a turn in the path at a steady pace, followed by a long train of well-fed laden mules, who dearly love that music. The sagacious beasts, not being annoyed by a fool hauling at their mouths, pick their way surely over the rocks, and along the edges of the precipices. Looking end on, their *aparejos* are just like the gables of a house, and some of the loads are small and heavy cylinders, tightly wrapped in canvas, the well-known *plata piña,* which make the mouths of the buccaneers water; while others are large and cumbrous, and encircled by *redes,* but all justly balanced, averaging a weight of 280 lbs., and all secured in a workmanlike fashion, so that shifting is impossible. They are followed by eight or a dozen well-mounted *arrieros,* who are ready at any moment to curb a restive mule, and prepared to keep them all to the road.

Now for the Shohos, also looking out for a chance of plunder. They hear a confused noise, but there is no tinkling bell, and presently a crowd of men appear, dragging along mules to which three others are attached in a string. Their loads are dangling about, nearly between their legs, their shoulders galled, and their bodies lean and out of condition, so that

they can scarcely carry 150 lbs. Here and there the hindmost of a string of four has slipped, and brought the other three down with him, the dragger looking hopelessly on. If there is no inspector present, these draggers (they were in no sense drivers) will get upon the laden mules, slipping off when a European comes in view, for they were ordered to walk. Altogether an unworkmanlike sight to look upon; and at the encampment it was equally bad. The mules were tied four together by their noses, and turned adrift to graze —the weakly would want to lie down, the strong to wander in search of good pasture; one getting no rest, the other hindered from procuring food.

It is to be hoped that, in any future expedition, experience will not be sought from the Abyssinian Transport Train, with its Otago patterns and Bombay pads, its dangling loads, and starving mules, and stupid *draggers*, but rather from the land of *aparejos*, and well-secured loads, and handy *arrieros*. Yet, by dint of much true zeal and untiring exertion, and of much supplementary aid from native carriage, the Abyssinian Transport Train managed to get no small amount of work done. And all honour is due to the officers of the Train. The whole thing had to be organized, as it were, on the spur of the moment, the service was entirely new to them, and the materials (both live and dead stock) with which they were furnished were execrable. What men could do with

such means they did. Their zeal is above all praise, and such officers as Hand, Nuttall, Annesley, Griffith, Twentyman, Græme, Bainbridge, Mortimer, Hodges, Ryves, and the rest, were the real working men of the Expedition.

Next to the transport organization, the most formidable piece of work to be done was the conveyance of the artillery, which Sir Robert Napier considered it necessary to bring up, with a view to possible siege operations at Magdala. The men of the two batteries (A and B 21) came from India, while the guns and equipments were brought out from England by Lieuts. Nolan and Chapman, who had prepared everything, selected mules, and arranged all the equipments at Mulkutto before the arrival of the other officers and men. Each of these batteries consisted of six 7-pounder mountain guns, of a length suitable for carriage athwartships on a mule; and the guns, ammunition, and equipments for the two batteries required ninety mules for their carriage. Saddles, on the Otago pattern, were specially fitted for these guns, and their carriages and gear. The G 14 battery consisted of six breech-loading Armstrong guns, each weighing 924 lbs. They were driven as far as Antâlo, but beyond that point the four that were taken on had to be carried on elephants. The two 8-inch mortars weighed the same as the guns, and required two elephants each. A Naval Brigade, con-

sisting of eighty men, with twelve rocket tubes, commanded by Captain Fellowes of the *Dryad,* was also organized. For the completion of communication between the coast and the table-land it was resolved that a railroad should be made from Mulkutto to Komayli; an electric telegraph, under the able management of Lieut. St. John, was to be carried up as far along the line of march as time would allow; and the supply of water at Komayli, and at Maiyen wells in the pass, was increased by the use of Norton's pumps, which had been sent out from England in charge of Lieut. Le Mesurier. These two officers had with them the 10th company of the Royal Engineers, men who were instructed as telegraphers, well-sinkers, photographers, and signallers, the latter under Lieut. Morgan.

While all these elaborate preparations were in progress on the coast, the advanced brigade had remained inactive at Senafé, where it is true that time was given to cement a most friendly feeling with the natives of the surrounding country, and where those indefatigable Commissariat officers, Major Thacker and Lieut. Shewell, attended the native weekly markets, and established a thorough understanding between their department and the people. All that was required to obtain such supplies as the districts could afford to furnish, both here and at all other stations, was temper and management on the part of the Commissariat officers, which was never wanting;

and time for the news of prompt payment and high prices to spread, which was seldom or ever allowed.

At last, on the 18th of January, two companies of the 33d and two of the 10th Bombay Native Infantry marched from Senafé to Goona-goona, the charming glen, twelve miles on the way to Adigerat, with orders to mend the road over the line of hills between the Shumazano and Mena valleys, where the slate rocks crop up at a sharp angle, and to make an easier ascent from the Goona-goona vale to the plateau of Gullaba above. On the 20th they were joined by the Sind Horse, while the 3d Bombay Cavalry and the sick mules were encamped on the rich pasturage of Goose Plain. This movement was an indication that the plan of remaining at Senafé until six months' provisions for 9,500 men were stored there, would not be adhered to, and that the necessity for commencing the march without the long delay that would have been entailed by that plan was at last perceived. On the 31st Brigadier Collings marched to Adigerat with four companies of the 33d, four of the 10th, a company of the Punjab Pioneers under Captain Currie, a company of Bombay Sappers, and a detachment of the Sind Horse. The camp was formed there, by the water, and facing the town and the lofty mountains of Harat. On the 2d of February Colonel Loch of the 3d Bombay Cavalry followed, with an escort for 600 mules laden with a month's

provisions for the advanced force; and the Head-Quarters, 4th Regiment, A battery of mountain guns, and some companies of the Beloochees reached Adigerat in the course of the same week. Thus, after a delay of upwards of a month at Senafé, another advance of some thirty miles was made in the direction of the work ahead.

There was no difficulty in the march, the climate was perfect, and the advance was unopposed. But the really critical and important part of the service was the management of the natives, and the establishment of a thoroughly good understanding with chiefs and people. On this depended supplies, transport, and communications.

Merewether had been made a local Brigadier-General in December, and, as political officer, his labours were unceasing and indefatigable. Young Lockhart, his aide-de-camp, who had already seen harder service and shrewder blows in Bhootan than he was likely to find in Abyssinia, was his efficient and zealous assistant. But the most essential instruments to carry on the political work were interpreters, and Merewether had, at the very beginning, obtained the services of several. First among them was undoubtedly M. Munzinger, who is a thorough Amharic scholar, and speaks English, French, and German. Next in efficiency came Peter Biru, a native of Walkeit, who had been educated at Malta, and whom

Merewether engaged at Massowa. He was eventually stationed at Adigerat. Mertcha Warki, the envoy from Kâsa of Tigré, was very useful as far as Antâlo, where he remained; and Father Zechariah, an Abyssinian priest educated at Rome, who was master of French and Amharic, was stationed at Senafé. Good old Dr. Krapf left his home in Wurtemberg to accompany the Expedition as interpreter, and rendered invaluable service in establishing a friendly feeling among the Shumazano people on the first arrival of the advanced brigade, but ill-health obliged him to return to Europe in January. Mr. Speedy, who it will be remembered acted for a short time for Consul Cameron at Massowa, and had acquired such knowledge of Amharic as was possible during a visit of a few months to Theodore's camp, had come from New Zealand, and was attached to Head-Quarters; and two useful men were sent from Egypt by Colonel Stanton. The services of that accomplished linguist Captain Moore were invaluable, for his excellent knowledge of Arabic enabled him to converse freely with all Muhammedan priests, of whom there were not a few along the line of march; and a Hindu named Meer Akbar Ali was also useful in communicating with the Mussulman part of the population.

From the time of his first arrival on the coast in 1866, General Merewether had contrived to keep open a wonderfully regular system of communication with

the captives at Magdala, and periodical information was received, though sometimes at rather long intervals, of the state of that part of the country, and of the progress of the King. The probity of Mr. Rassam's messengers was really most remarkable. Very large sums of money, in dollars, were entrusted to them, to carry over a difficult and hazardous route to Magdala, and there was not a single instance of dishonesty. General Merewether, ever mindful of the needs of the captives, also managed to send them some garden seeds, and some vaccine lymph to Dr. Blanc, which was useful in giving him influence over the people, who were most anxious to protect their children from the dreaded small-pox.

The efforts to induce the natives to give assistance in various ways to the advancing force were attended with a fair measure of success. In the early part of the year, Captain Moore, assisted by Meer Akbar Ali, persuaded the Shohos in the Senafé pass to bring in bundles of grass from long distances, at the rate of 150 to 200 lbs. for a dollar; which was a great assistance to the Commissariat, relieving it from the necessity of importing all forage to stations in the pass. Lieutenant Sturt, of the Transport Train, was appointed exclusively to attend to the grass supply. On the highlands the Abyssinian peasants were always ready to bring in their produce for sale at good prices; but General Merewether was determined also

to convert them into carriers, and thus supplement the work of the Transport Train. His efforts were rewarded with most unexpectedly good results, and no small part of the success of the Expedition is due to the system of local transport which he organized along the whole line of march. The great point was to make a good beginning, as the sight of their neighbours driving such excellent bargains with the invading strangers would be sure to induce the people further on to follow their example. Shûm Omar, the head man at Senafé, was most useful, and, with his aid, General Merewether and M. Munzinger succeeded in establishing a convention with the people of Shumazano, by which they agreed to convey bags of flour and other provisions to Adigerat. They were to receive a dollar and a half for every bag of 75 lbs. delivered; and by the 11th of February upwards of 1,400 pack-bullocks belonging to the country-people had left Senafé. At Adigerat, General Merewether concluded a similar convention with the Agamé people to carry bags as far as a place called Agula, half way to Antâlo, and they entered upon the work with great vigour. Not only bullocks and donkeys, but wives and daughters were pressed into the service, and the road was soon lined with them.

The goodwill of the ruler of the country was as necessary as that of the peasantry, and practically the one depended on the other. Major Grant, the gallant

companion of Speke when he discovered the Victoria Nyanza, who had joined the expedition in the Intelligence Department, was appointed to proceed to Adowa, the capital of Tigré, and, by a personal interview, strengthen the friendly relations which General Merewether had already established with the Dadjazmatsh Kâsa. He was accompanied by M. Munzinger, whose intimate knowledge of the language and people was of the greatest use; and they left Senafé on January 26th, with an escort of thirteen men of the 3d Bombay Cavalry. They arrived at Adowa on the 31st, where Gabru Warki, a brother of the Envoy Mertcha, acted as the "baldaraba," or introducer.[1] On the next day they were received by Kâsa, early in the morning, in presence of about 2,000 people, and Major Grant delivered the presents to him. It was a great feast to celebrate the accession of the new ruler of Tigré, and the chiefs were occupied from nine in the morning till four in the afternoon in eating, drinking, and swearing allegiance. There was also the ceremony of blessing the *nagareets* (kettledrums), the symbols of sovereignty. The feast took place in the ruined hall of the old palace of Râs Walda Selassyè, and decanters (*brillé*) of mead were emptied rapidly during many hours, while Kâsa sat gravely at the head of the board. From time to time a chief went out, returning on his horse, with the *kaletcha*, or

[1] He had also been educated at Bombay, and speaks English perfectly.

diadem, on his brow and silver armlet round his wrist, and his retainers around him, loudly swearing devotion to the new sovereign. It was a large gathering of powerful chiefs. Here were Guksa, the elder and only brother of Kâsa, who had been appointed governor of Shiré; Gabra Mikhail of Tsera, the wise in council; Haïla Mariam of Salowa, whose brows were girt with a silver diadem; Hagôs of Geralta, of the large eyes and handsome face; Nebreed Gabra Ubet of Axum, keeper of the sacred ark; Shûm Tembyen Anun, the aged warrior, and uncle of Kâsa; Shûm Agamé Tirsu, the low-born servant of Sabagadis, and now the rival of his descendants; Balgada Walda Selassyè, the son of Sabagadis;[1] and many more.

Next day Major Grant and M. Munzinger had a private interview with Kâsa. Sir Robert Napier's letter was presented, and the chief replied that his ancestors had always been on terms of friendship with the English, and that he would assist the army in procuring cattle and grain. On the 2d there was a public interview to see the poor of the town fed with bread and wine, in presence of the new sovereign, when Major Grant had long conversations with Guksa and other chiefs. At a final interview, on the 4th, there was some conversation respecting a proposed meeting between the Dadjazmatsh and the English commander-in-chief; and in a letter Kâsa again pro-

[1] See page 55.

mised to give all the assistance in his power towards facilitating the advance of the English troops. Major Grant did not form a very favourable opinion of Kâsa himself. His countenance was that of a weak-minded, vacillating young man, about twenty-six years of age; and it is probable that a concurrence of peculiar circumstances; and not his own force of character, drifted him into his present position. But his chiefs and advisers seemed to be fully impressed with the wisdom of securing the friendship of the English during their stay in the country. The English alone could destroy the dreaded Theodore, and all supplies would be amply paid for, while large presents of arms and ammunition might be looked for on the departure of the friendly invaders. On the other hand, it was quite clear that any attempt at hostility could and would be signally chastised by the irresistible power of the strangers. The policy of giving assistance and maintaining friendship was indeed so obviously the best, that the Tigré chiefs must have been unanimous upon that point from the first.

It appears that some obscure intrigues were instigated at Adowa by the Egyptians, with a view to persuade Kâsa and his chiefs that the English had ulterior intentions in invading Abyssinia. During the time of Major Grant's visit, Naib Muhammed, of Massowa, arrived at Adowa with thirty followers; and the Egyptian governor, Hussain Bey, is known to

have addressed a letter to the Tigré chief, with no friendly intention as regards the English. But these intrigues so utterly failed in their object, that it is unnecessary to do more than just allude to them.

On the 4th of February, Major Grant and M. Munzinger left Adowa, and arrived at the English camp at Adigerat on the 7th. They were escorted by a young chief of no note, but good family, named Lika Mankwass Ilma,[1] by a priest who had been at Jerusalem, and a following of about forty spearmen and twenty musketeers. Sir Robert Napier considered it desirable to have a durbar for the reception of young Ilma, and afterwards to hold a review of the troops in his presence. The fire of the mountain-guns and the charge of cavalry across the plain rather astonished him, and must have impressed him with the conviction that it was better to have us as friends than enemies. The 3d Cavalry, in their light blue uniforms and white turbans, and the Sind Horse, in dark green sheepskin overcoats without sleeves, and red turbans, galloped past, with their swords gleaming in the sunlight, and went through their drill splendidly. Ilma returned to Adowa next day.

Adigerat was one of the most important stations on

[1] Lika Mankwass Ilma is the chief of Gundupta, near Adowa. He is a son of Lika Mankwass Desta, by a daughter of Sabagadis, and is therefore a second cousin of Kâsa. Desta was a son of the Fitaurari Gabra Amlâk, of Gundupta, who took a very leading part in Abyssinian politics during the early part of the present century.

the line of march. It is the chief place in the province of Agamé, which is noted all over Abyssinia for the turbulence of its people, and their excellence as musketeers. Kâsa, on his accession, adopted a very unwise and suspicious policy in the government of the different provinces, often attempting to insure his own power by dividing the rule amongst several chiefs. Thus, in Agamé, he gave the rule to two grandsons of Sabagadis, named Báreai (or Barya-hoo), and Guksa, sons of Walda Mikhail, who was slain in Akula-guzay;[1] but he associated two other chiefs with them, one a total stranger to the district, and the other an old servant of their grandfather, named Tirsu. This arrangement was resented by the whole family of Sabagadis, and Báreai rose in rebellion, with his brother Guksa. He was joined by many of his young cousins—Hagôs, the son of Sabhât, and Walda Gabriel, the son of Aragâwi, who was a prisoner in Magdala.[1] The latter young gentleman one day made his appearance at the door of General Merewether's tent at Adigerat—a very proud and rather good-looking youth, in a white *shâma* with broad crimson border, fur *lemd* (or tippet) with long tails, and a huge pat of butter on his head. He was comparatively fair, with thick lips, aquiline nose, and large, intelligent eyes; and he leant impudently on the shoulder of a retainer during the interview. His object was to get his guns repaired;

[1] See page 55.

and he afterwards rode down the valley on a richly-caparisoned mule, followed by thirty or forty spearmen. These turbulent youths, the grandsons of Sabagadis, marched about the country, levying contributions on the villages, and causing a feeling of insecurity throughout the province, which interfered with the markets. Báreai sent to propose an alliance with the English; but he was told that Kâsa was our ally, and that all we could do was to offer our good offices in effecting a reconciliation between them.

For these reasons, Adigerat was a very important post, and orders were given to form a sort of intrenched position there; while Brigadier Collings and the advanced brigade, on the 11th of February, commenced the onward march to Antâlo.

LINE OF MARCH
FROM
ADIGERAT
TO THE
RIVER TAKKAZYÉ

CHAPTER VII.

DESCRIPTION OF THE REGION BETWEEN ADIGERAT AND THE TAKKAZYÈ.

Harat Range—Plain of Haramât—Dongolo—Agula—Dolo—Haïk-hallat—Chelicut—Antâlo—Wadjerât Mountains—Amba Alaji—Atala—Ayba—Ferrah Amba—Dobâ—Makhan—Lake Ashangi—Wofela—Womberat—Lât—Dafat Mountains—Dildi—Abuya-meder Mountains—Wandaj Pass—Sources of the Takkazyè.

THE region between Adigerat and the Takkazyè valley, a distance of 200 miles, is drained by affluents of the Takkazyè and Atbara to the west, so that here we first entered the basin of the Nile. It is divided into two very distinctly-marked regions, the first being composed of aqueous rocks, and being drier and less fertile, extending to Antâlo; while south of Antâlo, as far as the Takkazyè, the rocks are entirely volcanic, the country more mountainous, more plentifully supplied with moisture, and more fertile.

At the southern end of the plain of Adigerat, a ridge jutting out from the Harat range separates it from a ravine converging to the eastern rivers. There is yet another ravine belonging to the eastern drainage

system, and then a steep rocky ascent leads to the summit of a ridge at the extreme south-east angle of the Harat mountains, which forms the dividing line between the Nile and the Ragolay to the east. High above, on the right, rise the beetling cliffs of the Harat, but away to the south-east, as far as the eye can reach, stretches the rich plain of Haramât, traversed by streams which are either used up for irrigation, or go to swell the Atbara, the main fertilizing tributary of the Nile.

The important mountain knot of Harat ends abruptly at a point about eight miles south of Adigerat; and from the plain of Haramât the mountains appear like a mighty wall—bold sandstone cliffs, with flat tops, surmounted here and there by truncated cones, and the higher peaks, such as Aloquor and Undale (over Adigerat), in the interior of the mountain knot, rising above them. The most conspicuous of these lofty flat-topped cones, or ambas, is the famous Amba Tsion, the great fortress of Haramât, scarped with perpendicular cliffs, and having water and trees on its summit. "Who holds Amba Tsion holds Tigré," say the Abyssinians. For many and many a mile to the southward it forms a noble landmark.

The plain of Haramât is bounded on the north by the Harat range. On the east there is a line of flat-topped sandstone hills, extending for some miles to

the southward, and sinking into the plain in a succession of wide terraces, broken by steep ravines, which are well wooded. At their bases there is arable and pasture land. The villages are generally clustered at the openings of these ravines, and it is observable that the houses cease to be square or oblong and flat-roofed, as in Shumazano and Agamé, but are circular, with pointed thatched roofs—losing the Arab, and having more of the African character.

From the elevated land of Haramât there is a long and steep descent to Dongolo and the valley of the Genfel. On this ghaut the schistose rock appears again, which had not been observed since leaving Shumazano. At the Dongolo descent the character of the country changes. Hitherto the Abyssinian high lands had been upwards of 8,000 feet above the sea, with the vegetation of the temperate zone. But from Dongolo to Antâlo the elevation is little over 7,000 feet, with the dry sub-tropical flora of the upper Bombay ghauts, but much poorer and scantier. In both, the plains are bare of trees, and the vegetation only becomes rich in the sheltered glens; in both the mountain peaks and plateaux rise high above the average level, and many plants are of course common to both.

The scenery of the Dongolo descent, and in the Genfel valley, is exceedingly beautiful. On the right there is a glorious mass of reddish sandstone cliff,

and the lower hills are covered with a mimosa with crimson pods, which glisten in the rays of the sun. Here also grow the myrsine bushes, the *Cassia arereh*, which is leafless in February and covered with bright orange flowers, and two or three pretty *crotalarias*. A broad running stream flows through the Dongolo valley, bordered by a kind of asclepiad (*Kanahia Delilei*)[1] with milky juice, leaves like an oleander, and milk-white woolly flowers. Here and there venerable dahro-trees afford a grateful shade under their wide-spreading branches.

It is at this point, to the best of my judgment, that we came upon the route of the old Portuguese mission of Rodriguez de Lima (A.D. 1520),[2] and henceforth, as far as the Takkazyè valley, our line of march is slightly illustrated by the remarks of its historian, Father Alvarez. The Portuguese came from Axum, the English from Adigerat, and I think the two lines join each other at Dongolo, or on the plain of Haramât above; but it is very difficult to follow old Alvarez, and most of his names of places are wholly unrecognisable.

On a hill on the right bank of the Genfel, within the Dongolo valley, there is an ancient church excavated out of the solid rock, and possibly dating from the days of King Lalibela, which the country people call *maketê* (a chiselling out). A ground-plan

[1] Called by the Abyssinians *Domavito*.

[2] See page 17.

of it is given in the work of M. Lefebvre. I take this to be the place which Alvarez calls *Agro*, where there is "a church digged out of a rock by force of man's hand, very well made, with three aisles, and with pillars hewed out of the said rock; and the great chapel, the vestry, and the altar are all likewise of the same rock, and the principal porch, with the pillars thereof, as though it were made of sundry pieces: it cannot be fairer than it is. In the sides it hath no gate, for on each side is the mighty and terrible rock, and it is very pleasant to hear them sing divine service, for the voices of them which sing make a wonderful resounding."[1]

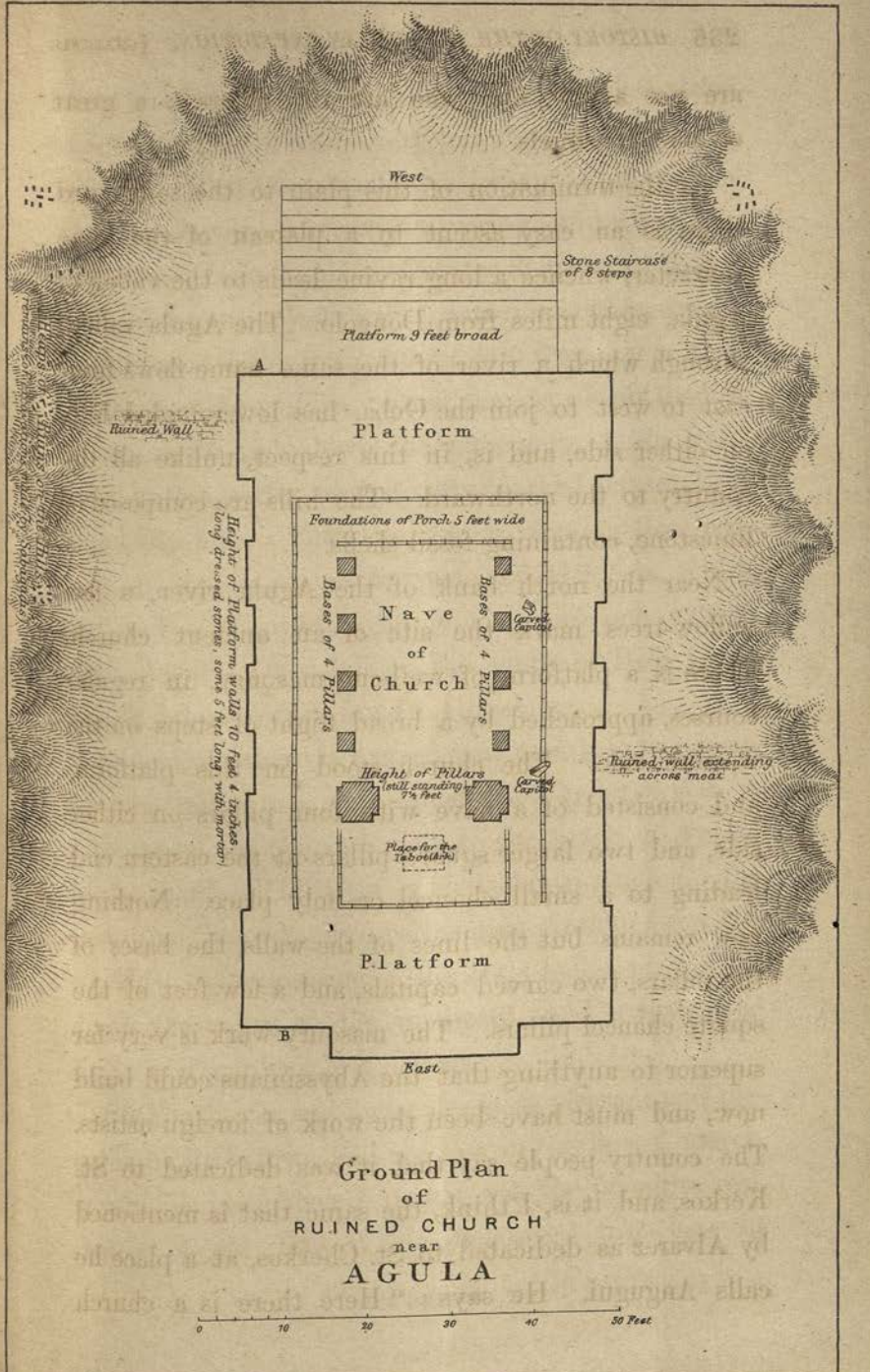
Leaving the Dongolo valley, the road crosses the Genfel river, a tributary of the Geba, and enters upon a vast plain covered with stunted acacias, which is some 1,500 feet lower than that of Haramât. If it were not for the fragrant labiate plant (*Otostegia integrifolia*) interspersed among the acacias, one would be reminded of the coast-plain round Mulkutto. This lower region abounds in camels of a strong active breed. The great salt market of Atsbi is only a few miles to the eastward, and the camels brought up with salt from the great desert are driven to the westward to feed on the acacias, many finding their way into the possession of the natives between Dongolo and Antâlo. The Muhammedans especially, of whom there

[1] Purchas, vol. ii. p. 1054.

are not a few, and who are all traders, are great owners of camels.

At the termination of this plain to the southward there is an easy ascent to a plateau of the same character, whence a long ravine leads to the valley of Agula, eight miles from Dongolo. The Agula valley, through which a river of the same name flows from east to west to join the Geba, has low rounded hills on either side, and is, in this respect, unlike all the country to the northward. The hills are composed of limestone, containing fossil shells.

Near the north bank of the Agula river, a few willow-trees mark the site of an ancient church. There is a platform of well-cut masonry, in regular courses, approached by a broad flight of steps on the western side. The church stood on this platform, and consisted of a nave with four pillars on either side, and two larger square pillars at the eastern end leading to a small chancel or holy place. Nothing now remains but the lines of the walls, the bases of the pillars, two carved capitals, and a few feet of the square chancel pillars. The masonry work is very far superior to anything that the Abyssinians could build now, and must have been the work of foreign artists. The country-people say that it was dedicated to St. Kerkos, and it is, I think, the same that is mentioned by Alvarez as dedicated to St. Cherkos, at a place he calls Angugui. He says: "Here there is a church



Rdwd Waller Litho.

London: Macmillan & Co.

like a bishoppe's see, very great and faire with aisles, and with pillars of stone very faire and well wrought, and it is called Chercos, that is to say, Saint Quirico. The place is very faire, upon a very goodly river."

The road from Agula to Dolo, a distance of fifteen miles in a southerly direction, passes over three ranges of limestone hills, from 500 to 800 feet higher than the intervening valleys. From the last ascent there is a magnificent view down the wide gorge to the westward, with a series of distinctly-marked terrace lines round the hills. The Dolo ravine, running from east to west, opens upon the plain of Gembela, which appeared to be covered with growing corn, rich pasture, and villages. On a hill to the south of Dolo is the largest dahro-tree we saw in Abyssinia.

From Dolo there is a good road over a grassy plain for nine miles, to a place called Haik-hallat, which is separated from the vast plain to the south of Antâlo by a chain of hills, of which Amba-Aradom, the mountain immediately overhanging Antâlo, forms the nucleus. The drainage of the Haik-hallat plain flows down the valley to the westward, and irrigates the fields and gardens of Chelicut.

Chelicut is far and away the most pleasant and picturesque little town that we saw in the line of march. It will be remembered that it was the favourite residence of old Râs Walda Selassyè,[1] that here he

[1] See page 48.

received Mr. Salt, and that here his two English servants, Pearce and Coffin, lived for several years. Chelicut is in a valley on the northern side of the Amba-Aradom range of mountains, which is abundantly watered, and numerous channels are led away to irrigate the fields. The church, dedicated to the Trinity, is surrounded by superb juniper-trees of great height. It is a circular edifice, with the wall of the outer cloister painted in the same style as that at Adigerat, with pictures of sacred subjects and of the warlike deeds of the old Râs. The outer wall consists of a series of narrow arches, forming an arcade, those fronting the door into the Holy of Holies being filled in with a screen of carved woodwork. The general effect is certainly very pleasing. The roof is neatly thatched, and the doors and other woodwork are merely worked up with adzes, without the use of planes. Near the church two glorious dahro-trees spread a wide shade over a strip of soft turf, bordered by a running stream; and here the elders of the town meet to discuss their affairs. The streets are narrow and stony, but all the houses are surrounded by gardens of chile pepper and groves of trees, with hedges of the shivti plant (*Pircunia Abyssinica*), and there are several plantain and one or two peach trees.

Antâlo is now for the most part in ruins. It is situated on a high plateau, under the southern face of Amba-Aradom, which is upwards of 10,000 feet above

the sea. Many of the circular houses of stone and mud are unroofed and deserted, and the once great palace of Râs Walda Selassyè is an utter ruin. It appears to have been on exactly the same plan as that of Sabagadis, at Adigerat. But though the place is now ruined and decayed, there is still a great weekly market at Antâlo, to which the people come for miles around, selling grass for baskets, pottery, glass from Trieste, tobacco, coffee, chilies and onions, drugs, cotton-cloths, corn, honey, butter, salt, hides, mules, sheep, and cattle. There are eight churches round Antâlo,[1] each with its pleasant grove of trees; and that of St. George is adorned with fresco paintings superior to any at Adigerat or Chelicut.

From the foot of the heights on which Antâlo is built, an enormous undulating plain stretches away to the southward, covered with long grass and large stones, and full of holes. A very bad country for riding over. It is bounded on the south by a plateau, and the deep ravine of the Musgi river, beyond which is the fine range of the Wadjerât mountains. A stream called the Buya, with its tributary rills,

[1] Namely, two on the top of Amba-Aradom, called *Mariam* and *Kidâna Mihrat* (Covenant of Mercy); one under the east shoulder of the amba, dedicated to *St. Michael;* that of *St. George,* in a little copse a few hundred yards west of the ruins of the old Râs's palace; *Madhanè Alam* (Saviour of the World), on the south slope of the Amba; *St. Raphael* and *Abûna Gubra Manfas Kedûs* (Servant of the Holy Ghost), east and west of Antâlo; and *Tekla Haimanot,* in a copse of kol-quall trees, south of the town.

drains this great dreary plain, and falls into the Musgi, a tributary of the Samre river, which is a main affluent of the Takkazyè.

The climate of the country between Adigerat and Antâlo is perhaps the most delightful in the world, from November to May. The heat of the sun, which is certainly great, is tempered by light clouds and fresh breezes, and the nights are deliciously cool. On the great plain south of Antâlo, however, there is generally a very strong wind, commencing about noon and dying away after sunset. Heavy clouds, with thunder and lightning, roll up from the coast, and gather about the mountains, where there are often showers of rain.

The region extending from Antâlo to the Takkazyè valley is entirely composed of volcanic rock. It is an elevated ridge, crossed by several lofty ranges of mountains; and here the scenery becomes grander, the vegetation more varied and abundant, and the supply of water more plentiful. The peculiar feature of this region is that while the backbone of the mountain system runs north and south and forms the watershed, it is crossed by ranges of great elevation running east and west in the direction of the drainage. Thus the Wadjerât mountains rise up as a great southern barrier, separating the dreary plain south of Antâlo from the rich valleys of the volcanic formation.

Two ravines run up through the northern faces of the Wadjerât mountains leading to the south, one well to the south-east called the Gurub-dekdek road, and the other called Beat Mayra, ending at the foot of the saddle which juts from the steep side of Amba Alaji. This amba is a lofty peak, and very famous in Abyssinian history as an almost impregnable stronghold. The gorge of Beat Mayra is very beautiful. On either side there are lofty mountains, and a noisy little stream flows down to join the Musgi, irrigating a succession of barley crops, grown in terraces, which rise one above the other up the gorge. Beyond this cultivation the ravine is full of fine trees, tall acacias, *myrsines*, figs of various kinds, a *celastrus*, and a very pretty *crotalaria*. The road crosses the stream at several points, and in some places passes along a ridge above it, with the tops of the trees rising from the gorge, just on a level with the traveller's eye. At last, after eight miles of the most beautiful scenery that had yet been met with on the highlands, the gorge opens, and there is a stretch of velvety turf, with a bright stream overshadowed by large shady willow-trees. This is the pleasant halting-place of Meshik, where Pearce had eaten his Christmas dinner with old Râs Walda Selassyè, more than fifty years before.

The steep ascent of the Amba Alaji begins a few miles beyond Meshik. It is long, steep, and stony;

but the lovely scenery makes fatigue almost impossible. The sides of the mountains are well clothed with trees; the principal undergrowth consisting of rose bushes in full flower, above which tower the giant thistles, some 12 feet high. Amba Alaji rises up on the right of the saddle, ending in a steep grassy peak, 800 feet above us, with scarped sides just below; and here, on a rocky shelf, there are a few houses, almost overhanging the pass,—the impregnable abode of the chief of Wadjerât.[1]

Below the Alaji pass, to the south of the Wadjerât mountains, is the narrow valley of Atala, with high ranges on either side, running S. 66° E. to N. 66° W. The bright stream flowing through it is bordered by green crops, with a few clumps of fine willow-trees. The stream flows westward into the low land of Bora,[2] to join the Takkazyè; and the villages cluster here and there on spurs of the mountains. Salt mentions a tradition that the people of the Wadjerât province, which includes Atala, are descended from Portuguese

[1] I take it that old Alvarez is describing Meshik and the Alaji Pass, in the following sentence:—"We went forward on our journey along the bank of a passing goodly river, through a very pleasant and goodly country, and full of green herbs and trees, fruitful and fruitlesse. There are also infinite abundance of cypresse trees (juniper), and many thickets of trees of sundry sorts which we knew not. At the head of this valley there is a great ascent, and so craggy a mountain that, sixty miles beyond the same, there is none other passage, and it seemeth very likely to be so, by the great store of people that always pass that way."

[2] A district in the province of Wag, separated from Salowa, in Tigré, by the river Samre.

soldiers; and he adds that they are the largest and finest men in Abyssinia, and that their fidelity to their rulers has become proverbial.

The range to the south of Atala, which is very precipitous, derives its name from a high peak called Bota. It separates the valleys of Atala and Ayba, which are alike in general character, though Ayba is more bare, and has less cultivation. Beyond the Ayba valley, there is another transverse range, that of Ferrah, also named after a mountain rising up on the right of the road. This Amba Ferrah is a succession of grand precipices—a glorious mass of rock, not terminating in a peak, like Alaji, but in angular walls of rock, with bright green steeps and ledges intersecting them. It rises up immediately on the right of the pass, which winds up the mountain-side by an easy ascent. The vegetation here becomes richer and more varied. The mountains are covered with juniper bushes, and the hollows are golden with a pretty St. John's-wort, which here first makes its appearance. On this pass, too, the very handsome and peculiar-looking kosso-tree (*Brayeria anthelmintica*) was first seen. Huge boulders, covered with moss and ferns, are scattered over the grass: and, here and there, thickets of wild roses and jasmine scent the air. The enormous thistle raises its head above this undergrowth; and on the higher slopes there is a heath

with a white flower (*Erica arborea*).[1] A long descent of 2,000 feet, broken by two broad terraces, leads down from the saddle of Ferrah to the great valley of Dobâ. The first terrace is called Belago, and is covered with irrigated corn-fields, the drainage being westward to the Bora low land.

From the Ferrah Amba there is a range of mountains, running north and south, as far as Ashangi; and the line of march was on their eastern side. Five conspicuous peaks rise from this longitudinal range—namely Ferrah Amba itself, Afaji, Tsahefti, Bokero, and Sarenga. There are deep cracks round the base of Afaji, which are said to have been caused by the earthquakes in 1854; and the natives assert that these earthquakes also caused great changes in the water-system of the Dobâ valley, some springs drying up and others appearing. The mountain-sides, which slope down from Belâgo, to Dobâ, are covered with trees and flowering shrubs, and the scenery becomes very beautiful. Here are two or three very ornamental species of *celastrus*, a *lantana*, and a very pretty little *indigofera*. The valley is covered with coppices and open grass fields; and near its centre a conical hill rises up, crowned by the fenced village of Ajura. Along the feet of the western mountains the ground is cut deep

[1] M. Richard compared this species with the heath growing near Toulon, and in Italy, and could not find the slightest difference between them.

by well-wooded ravines. The ridges and hollows are covered with juniper-trees, above which rise, here and there, the tall stems and spreading branches of the umbrella-shaped acacia. A low saddle leads from the Dobâ into the equally well-wooded vale of Makhan. Here clumps of tall junipers are scattered over the grassy glades and knolls; and in the bottoms, near the brook which flows off to the eastward, there are thickets of *khadoo* (fig), brambles, wild roses, jasmine, and clematis. The round hills dividing the two valleys to the east are crowded with villages of circular huts, fenced with thick hedges of kol-quall.

We are still travelling on the track of the old Portuguese Mission, and Father Alvarez mentions this country of Dobâ. The Englishman Pearce also passed through the Dobâ valley more than once, in his campaigns with Râs Walda Selassyè.

The lower country to the eastward of this sub-alpine region, from Antâlo to the Takkazyè, is occupied by lawless tribes of Muhammedan Azebo Gallas. From the summits of all the passes, looking to the eastward, we could see the same broad valley, apparently extending north and south for upwards of 200 miles, and receiving all the eastern drainage of the Abyssinian alps. Beyond it, in the far eastern distance, were ranges of mountains rising one above the other; and the valley itself appeared to be covered with jungle, and to have a river running through it. In

this country—still entirely unknown to Europeans—dwell those incorrigible robbers and murderers, the Azebo Gallas, who profess Muhammedanism, and make incessant raids on the Christian inhabitants of the highlands. Hence the thick kol-quall fences round all the villages, which are usually perched on isolated hills. No young Galla can marry until he has murdered his Christian, and the roads are consequently rather unsafe in this part of the country.

The mountainous district between Makhan and the basin of Lake Ashangi, about fourteen miles across, is well wooded, the hill-sides being covered with junipers as tall as Scotch firs, flowering St. John's-wort growing as trees, and the *Erica arborea* sometimes 20 or 30 feet high. The drainage is still to the eastward, and lofty peaks shut out the view to the west. At the southern edge of this highland the view is magnificent. Far below lies the bright blue lake of Ashangi, bordered by a richly-cultivated plain, and surrounded by mountains on every side. To the westward this mountain barrier is very high; but to the east the hills are comparatively low, and appear to slope away rapidly on their eastern sides to the valley of the Azebo Gallas, which is at a much lower elevation. Thus the landscape presents the curious effect of an alpine lake surrounded by mountains, and without an outlet, lying on the edge of a vast extent of country at a much lower elevation.

The basin of Lake Ashangi is a flat plain, with the sheet of water occupying its southern half. On the north side there is rich pasture for cattle, and much wheat and barley cultivation: the fields being artificially levelled in terraces, and extending in steps, far up the skirts of the hills. The villages are perched up on the tops of conical hills, or high on the sides of the western mountains, and at sunset the cattle and labourers may be seen wending their way up the steep paths in all directions. Round the north end of the lake there are deep fissures full of soft mud and quicksands, which are excessively dangerous. These fissures are said by the people to have been formed by the earthquake of 1854.

The lake of Ashangi is about four miles long by about three broad, and upwards of 8,000 feet above the level of the sea. It furnishes one of the very rare examples of a fresh-water lake without any apparent outlet; the water probably escaping at some point on the eastern side by percolation. The courses of none of the streams which flow into it are of any length, and probably do not pass over saline earths, the surrounding mountains being all volcanic.

On the western side there is only a strip of land about 200 yards wide, between the mountains and the shores of the lake, and at one point a promontory descends abruptly into the water, with a broad sheet of waving corn extending along its northern base.

Myriads of sheldrakes, ducks, cootes, and curlew frequent the lake, and wade amongst the reeds in the treacherous mud on its shores; and several birds were shot here, that had not been seen before—among them a cormorant and two grebes. At the south end there is a break in the mountains, and a gradual ascent leads to the plain of Wofela. To the south the mountains forming the high table-land of Womberat rise abruptly from the Wofela plain, and the jagged volcanic ridges to the westward are a continuation of the range which bounds the Ashangi basin.

The road leads up a wild gorge to the Womberat plateau, and then by a long descent to the valley of Lât. This highland sends its drainage to the Galla country; but from Lât, onwards to the Takkazyè, all the streams again become fountains of the Nile. From Womberat there are distant views of the Galla country to the eastward, while far away to the S.S.E. is the mysterious land of Zobul, concerning which there are many traditions. It is said that, in ages long gone by, there was a Christian kingdom in Zobul, that old churches are still standing there, and that the bells are heard ringing from afar; but that no man dares to approach, because spirits guard those holy places. The tradition of the people of Lasta is that Menilek, the son of Solomon by the Queen of Sheba, entered Abyssinia from the eastern coast, and that his first settlement was in that land of Zobul. They add that

Naakweto Laab, the last of the Lasta dynasty,[1] is still alive, wandering between Jerusalem and Zobul, and that he is the King Theodore who is to come hereafter, and establish a sort of millennium in Abyssinia, arriving from the east.[2] The late king availed himself of this ancient tradition and took the name of Theodore; but unfortunately he came from Kûara in the far west, and not from the east, so few people believed that his was the true avatar.

Lât is a narrow valley, fertile and well watered, and its river pours over a precipice and joins a tributary of the Tellarè, flowing away to swell the Takkazyè. South of the Lât valley the Dafat mountain-range crosses the line of the watershed, and about 16 miles further south (as the crow flies) is the still loftier parallel range of Abuya-meder, which forms the northern boundary of the valley of the Takkazyè. The intervening country, being a portion of the province of Lasta, is very mountainous, and contains the sources of the Tellarè, one of the principal affluents of the Takkazyè.

The Dafat mountains are covered with compositæ, labiate shrubs, among which the ubiquitous *tchendog* is most common, white heather, roses, juniper, and St. John's-wort. The latter grows as a large tree, with the habit of a yew. I measured one trunk, which was

[1] See page 11.

[2] Dr. Beke. *Royal Geographical Society's Journal*, vol. xiv. p. 55.

18 inches in diameter, and they are one mass of bright orange flowers. The Dafat pass is upwards of 10,000 feet above the sea.

This part of the Lasta district is broken up into a succession of mountain spurs and deep ravines; but it is well watered and fertile, and there are no scarped cliffs or perpendicular gorges, so that the difficulties of the road are insignificant. The scenery is very fine, and there is much cultivation in terraces up the mountain-sides. The villages are numerous, thick groves of trees, denoting a church, are to be seen here and there, and the people seemed more prosperous than the peasants on the open plains of Tigré. Their agriculture appeared to be quite equal to that of the natives of India. They level their fields in terraces, they irrigate by means of a carefully-arranged system of small channels, and their implements are well suited for the work. Their *maresha*, or plough, drawn by cows, is shod with iron, has an iron hook for fastening to the pole, and short wooden flanges on either side to turn over the soil in the furrows. The yoke is fastened to the pole by thongs, and is very light.

At the foot of the long ascent of the Abuya-meder mountains by the Wandaj pass, flows the river Tellarè through a rocky gorge, and the clear water dashes noisily over the huge boulders. Here the camp of Dildi was formed, on the north side of the river, with the peak of Gubarji towering over the nearer

mountains to the south-east, and the lofty slopes of Abuya-meder, brilliantly green with corn crops, to the south-west. The country is well wooded, and a rippling stream flows down each valley. Everywhere there are charming little shady spots, like the most pleasant combes in North Devon. The Tellarè is here within a few miles of its source, and is never more than ten feet across in the dry season, but it is evidently a mighty torrent in the rains. The whole width of the bed, covered with large water-worn boulders, averages twenty yards, and in places the rushing water washes a wall of alluvial soil, with large round stones embedded in it, which is from 4 to 6 feet thick.

The ascent of the Abuya-meder mountains, from Dildi, on the banks of the Tellarè, to the summit of the Wandaj pass, is seven miles long; Dildi being about 7,400, and the pass 10,500 feet, above the level of the sea. Thus Wandaj is the highest point on the road from Senafé to Magdala. The sides of the Abuya-meder mountains, though very steep, are cultivated, and several villages are within sight of the road. Small rills and brooks irrigate the land, flowing over banks of soft turf and white clover, or dropping down cliffs of black rock, shaded by juniper, with masses of orange aloe flowers raising their long spikes above the bushes below. From the summit of the pass there is a glorious view of the Dafat range to the north with a sea of lower mountain peaks intervening, of the great

Azebo Galla valley to the east, and of the Takkazyè valley, with the great wall of the Wadela plateau beyond, to the south.

We first saw one of the most remarkable of the Abyssinian plants on the summit of the Wandaj pass. This is the *Tupa rhyncophetalum*, a giant lobelia, called by the natives *jevarua*. It consists of long pointed leaves, with poisonous acrid juice, on a stalk, and a long spike with leaflets on it. As the spike grows the leaflets break off, and a tall straight pole is left, often fifteen feet high. At a distance they looked like flag-staves on the mountain-tops, standing out in relief against the stormy sky. When the gigantic flowering spike has ripened its seed, the plant dies. The Abyssinians say that to sleep beneath its shade is fatal, although two poles of *jevarua*, placed at the door of a house, preserves the inmates from all attacks of the devil.[1]

In descending the ravine on the south side of the Wandaj pass, we came to the first large clump of kosso-trees.

The Abuya-meder mountains separate the valleys of the Tellarè and the Takkazyè, the source of the former river being on their northern, and that of the latter on their southern face. The streams flowing

[1] M. Richard mentions that his friend M. Dillon sent him specimens of the *Tupa rhyncophetalum*, and wrote an accompanying note, on May 15th, 1840, from a house built of the spikes of this singular vegetable.

down the deep ravines to the south unite to form the Takkazyè. The most distant source is some ten miles away due east, in the province of Angot; but the 'Ayn Takkazyè, the fountain of tradition, is close at hand, at the foot of a peak called 'Ayn-kirkum. This stream has the honour of being considered the source of the great fertilizing tributary of the Nile, because Menilek, son of the Queen of Sheba, is said to have struck a rock there, and caused the water to well forth. The old Jesuit Tellez correctly describes the 'Ayn Takkazyè ravine as a place where three several springs gush out violently within a stone's throw of each other. They are shaded by a grove of kosso and juniper trees, surrounding a Christian church. The next ravine, on the southern slope of the Abuya-meder range, to the westward, is called Marora; and then comes that which runs south from the Wandaj pass, known as the Briganut-wanz.[1] Still going westward, and divided by a mountain-spur from the Briganut, is the Sohona-wanz, commencing at the foot of a lofty peak called Zugagisin. The Rigach-wanz joins the Sohona, and still further west is the Mal-wanz, passing between Lalibela, the capital of Lasta, and the large village of Zagulzaf, where the camp of Wakshûm Gobazyé was long pitched. The streams flowing down these deep ravines unite to form the river Takkazyè, which runs east and west in a valley separating this

1 *Wanz* is Amharic for a ravine.

mountainous Lasta country to the north, from the remarkable Wadela plateau to the south. All the ravines and mountain-sides were bright green with corn crops, while here and there a village is perched upon some overhanging spur, with a clump of trees concealing its church hard by. The bed of the Takkazyè is about 7,800, and the summit of the Wandaj pass 10,500 feet above the sea. In the dry season, the river at this point is but a small stream, easily crossed dry-shod, by jumping from stone to stone; but the extent of the river-bed showed what it was during the rainy season, even at this short distance from its source. Here our route diverged from that of the old Portuguese Embassy. Alvarez tells us that they went to Lalibela and saw the famous rock-hewn churches, while we left that place some eight miles on our left.

South of the Takkazyè, the nature of the country entirely changes. Hitherto we had passed over a broken mountainous region, where lofty ridges alternated with deep ravines. But from the Wandaj pass, looking across the Takkazyè valley, we got the first view of the Wadela plateau, a mighty wall 2,600 feet high, rising abruptly from the valley, and ending in a level summit, at an elevation nearly equal to that of the Wandaj pass itself.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE MARCH FROM ADIGERAT TO THE WADELA PLATEAU.

THE advance of the Expedition was retarded, during the month of February, by the deficient state of the Transport Service. It was found that, at the rate at which supplies were then being brought up, it would take six months to store six months' provisions at Senafé, even for the comparatively small force then on the highlands—about 5,600 men of all arms.[1] The original idea of storing six months' provisions for 9,500, before advancing on Magdala, was necessarily abandoned; for there was but the choice between pushing forward without that precaution, or remaining for two years in the country. A considerable reduction was also made of the camp followers, with a view to lessening the number of mouths to be fed. Whereas an English regiment serving in India would be entitled to 1,200 mules carrying 200 lbs. each, and 600 native followers, the scale for the Abyssinian cam-

[1] Despatch from Sir R. Napier, February 16th, 1868. Distribution Return, February 16th, 1868.

paign was fixed at 187 mules, carrying 150 lbs. each, and 96 followers. All private followers, except grass-cutters, were dispensed with, and officers' baggage was cut down to 75 lbs. Thus about 4,000 natives of India were sent down to the coast, and the strain on the Commissariat was relieved to that extent.

The total number of transport animals, in the middle of February, was 10,019, of which about 4,000 were on the highlands between Senafé and the front, and the rest were at work in the pass, bringing up stores from Mulkutto. At this time the Commander-in-Chief was still under the impression that Abyssinia would yield little but meat and fire-wood, and that grain and provender for the animals must all be brought up from the coast.[1]

On the 1st of February the pioneer force, commanded by Colonel Phayre, the Quartermaster-General, and consisting of 150 sabres of the 3d Cavalry and Sind Horse, two companies of the 10th Bombay Native Infantry under Major Pierce, one company of the Punjab Pioneers, and one of Bombay Sappers, marched from Adigerat for Antâlo. The road, which is described in the previous chapter, presents few difficulties; but the few that existed, were soon overcome by the active and zealous officers of the pioneer force. There was a spur where the sheet rock crops out before reaching the Haramât plain, which had to

[1] Despatch dated February 16th, 1868.

be improved; a road had to be made down the Dongolo descent, and another down the mountain-side leading to Dolo. The Punjab Pioneers, under Captain Currie, worked hard and well, and the admirably-traced Dolo ghaut was completed by Major Pierce and his Sepoys in one day. There was a little more work to be done between Dolo and Antâlo, in the neighbourhood of which place Colonel Phayre encamped on February 15th.

Everywhere along the route from Adigerat to Antâlo, the Quartermaster-General, or *Fitâŭrari*,[1] as he was called by the Abyssinians, was well received by the people. He took care to leave a good impression by prompt payment for everything that was brought for sale, and by attending at once to any request that was made to him. Thus, at Dolo, he made arrangements to prevent water from being taken from the small channels which were irrigating the barley fields; and at Adabagi, the station on the Haramât plateau, just above the descent to Dongolo, he entered into friendly relations with the chiefs who were collecting dues for Dadjatsh Kâsa. *Fitâŭrari* Phayre was an indefatigable explorer and a splendid pedestrian, most valuable qualifications for an officer who had to select

[1] The *Fitâŭrari*, in Abyssinia, is the general who leads the advanced troops. Literally, "the Plunderer in front." Isenberg says that words occur in the same sense in Numb. xxxii. 17, and Deut. iv. 37. The duty of the *Fitâŭrari* is to march some leagues in front of the army, fix the positions for encampments, and reconnoitre (Bruce, v. p. 82).

the best route over an unexplored country. He sent back full reports to Head-Quarters, with distances and sketch maps; and it was a general complaint in camp —especially among the newspaper correspondents— that Phayre's miles were double those of any one else. In reality, as is usually the case, he slightly underrated the true distances.

On the 11th, Brigadier Collings, an officer of great regimental experience and cool judgment, who had served throughout the Crimean war, marched from Adigerat with the Head-Quarter Wing of the 33d, the A steel mountain battery commanded by Colonel Penn, and the Sind Horse. He improved the road already marked out by the pioneer force, and reached the camp near Antâlo on February 20th, taking with him a month's provisions.

Meanwhile General Merewether had been indefatigable in his endeavours to develop the system of native transport at Adigerat, on the plan that had proved so successful at Senafé. The people agreed to carry bags from Adigerat to Agula, on the same terms as had been arranged in the Senafé convention, and 65 mules were also purchased at Adigerat. Having completed these important arrangements, General Merewether started on the 12th of February, and overtook Brigadier Collings at Agula on the 15th. Here he concluded another convention with the villagers, to carry on the bags of rice, flour, and grain to

the camp near Antâlo. Many of the villages in this neighbourhood are inhabited by Muhammedans, merchants and traders, who have more intercourse with the outer world, and are consequently more civilized, than the Christians. They agreed to take on the provisions to Antâlo, at the rate of two dollars a bag, while within two days 63,600 lbs. had been duly delivered at Agula by the people of Adigerat.

General Merewether then continued his march, and joined Colonel Phayre near Antâlo on the 17th. The position selected for this camp, which was intended to be one of the three principal stations along the line of march (Senafé and Adigerat being the other two), was on a knoll in the great plain between the hills of Antâlo and the Wadjerât mountains. This plain is a wide dreary expanse of undulating country, covered with long coarse grass and huge stones, with a few villages, most of them deserted, on the more elevated knolls, and a little cultivation along the banks of sluggish streams which unite to form the Buya, a tributary of the Musgi. The camp was on high ground, about five miles south of the town of Antâlo, and within 200 yards of the Buya stream, from which it took its name.

At first supplies did not come in very readily from the surrounding country. We were strangers, and had our characters to gain; and time was required for the news to spread that there was a demand for grain and

other provisions, and that they would be well and promptly paid for. But as soon as these tidings got abroad, and Kâsa had, in accordance with his promise to Major Grant and M. Munzinger, given out that it was his order that the English should be supplied with all they required, the quantity of grain that came in quickly exceeded the most sanguine expectations. General Merewether was unceasing in his endeavours to establish a feeling of confidence among the villagers, to whom this arrival of an army that paid its way appeared almost incredible. At Chelicut he had an interview with the priest and principal people of the place, sitting in a circle on the greensward, beneath the shade of the wide-spreading dahro-trees. They were informed of the intentions of the English, and that everything would be paid for; and they promised to encourage the villagers to bring produce to the camp for sale. The same information was spread over the surrounding districts; and Lieut. Shewell, of the Commissariat Department, made friends with a most useful and influential man at Antâlo, a Muhammedan Hajji, who materially assisted him in his purchases.

The results of these exertions were not slow in appearing. From the 1st to the 8th of March, Lieut. Shewell purchased 113,363 lbs. of grain, flour, and bread; besides ghee, salt, chilies, onions, hay, firewood, sheep, bullocks, hides, tobacco, and coffee. The Commissariat bazaar at the Buya camp became a very

busy and interesting sight. The heaps of provisions began to pile up higher and higher, and soon there were 100,000 rations of flour actually in store, independent of daily consumption. It was no longer possible to retain the view that Abyssinia was a land without supplies or means of transport, and that a small force relying to a considerable extent on the resources of the country could not advance. The difficulties of the march were, of course, increased in proportion to the size of the force; while no Abyssinian army could have a chance in the field against a single English regiment armed with Snider rifles. It became evident that the march to Mâgdala in one season could only be successfully effected by a change in the original plan of the campaign. The storage of six months' provisions at Senafé for 9,500 men, and the supply of all necessaries for the advancing force from the coast, were clearly impossible; but there was no difficulty in marching over a friendly country, in a perfect climate, relying to a considerable extent on its resources for provisions and transport.

The Head-Quarters remained at Adigerat until February 18th. Sir Robert Napier did not consider that the force already with him, and in the front,[1] was sufficiently strong to destroy the remnant of Theo-

[1] 33d Regiment, 4th ditto, 10th Bombay Native Infantry, Belooch Regiment, two companies of Punjab Pioneers, two companies of Sappers, 3d Bombay Cavalry, 3d Sind Horse, A Mountain Battery.

dore's power; while the deficient means of transport necessitated delay in the arrival of further reinforcements and supplies from the coast. This delay enabled arrangements to be made for a personal interview between the English Commander-in-Chief and the new ruler of Tigré; and the Head-Quarters arrived at Adabagi on the 19th, with this object, accompanied by a wing of the 4th Regiment, the 2d Belooch Battalion, and the 3d Cavalry.

Kâsa had made some difficulty, on the ground that it was not customary for a sovereign to travel so soon after the ceremony of his accession;[1] but eventually a letter arrived at Adabagi, announcing his approach; and the banks of a small stream on the plains of Haramât, called Mai-Adeab, were selected for the place of meeting. On the morning of the 25th, Sir Robert Napier marched to that spot, with about 450 men and four Armstrong guns, and found the opposite ridge crowned with an Abyssinian army of about 4,000 men, well armed with guns, swords, and spears. Kâsa had pitched a red pavilion on the ridge, and the English had prepared a tent for his reception in front of their camp. He came attended by his principal chiefs, and riding on a mule; while the English general met him on an elephant, and afterwards conducted him into the tent. During the interview, Kâsa

[1] He stated the custom of Abyssinia to be, that a prince should not leave his capital for forty days after his installation.

renewed his assurances of friendship, and reiterated the promises he had previously made to Major Grant and M. Munzinger, to cause supplies to be furnished to the English troops. He also alluded to his rivalry with the Wakshûm Gobazyé, and to the rebellion of young Barya-hoo in Agamé, and was of course told that the English were unable to interfere in the internal affairs of his kingdom. The Abyssinian ruler was then invited to witness a parade of the English troops, in order to convince him of their irresistible power; and in the evening Sir Robert Napier visited Kâsa's camp, and was impressed with the excellent order of the troops. They formed line, kept silence, and were well armed. Presents were exchanged, the English officers were plentifully entertained with Abyssinian mead and cakes, and, finally, Kâsa clothed Sir Robert Napier in his own war cloak, and sent him away on his own mule. Next morning there was another interview, when Kâsa stated his intention of marching to chastise the rebel chief of Wadjerât, named Walda Yasoos, whose territory was on the route that would be taken by the English troops after leaving Antâlo. Sir Robert Napier promised him the friendship of the English Queen, and broadly hinted that, in the event of his continuing to afford assistance, that friendship should not be confined to words. He also represented the great inconvenience which might be occasioned by Kâsa's intended military operations against Walda

Yasoos on our line of march; and the wily Abyssinian promised to abandon his intention for the present, and lead his army in another direction. It will presently be seen that this promise was not kept.

These interviews, doubtless, strengthened the impression already entertained by the chiefs of Tigré of the great power of the English, and fixed them in their policy of friendship and assistance. The Head-Quarters immediately afterwards left Adabagi, accompanied by the troops that had marched with the Commander-in-Chief from Adigerat, and arrived at the Buya camp, near Antâlo, on the 2d of March. Sir Charles Staveley also arrived to command the division marching on Mâgdala, while Général Malcolm remained in charge of the troops from Antâlo to the coast. The six 12-pounder Armstrong guns (which had been driven all the way), the two mortars, and the elephants came in a few days afterwards.

If the work of the expedition was to be done before the rains, there was now very little time to lose. The region beyond Antâlo was, for all practical purposes, entirely unknown, and it was desirable that some one should be sent on ahead of the force to explore it, report upon the routes, see the native chiefs, and secure their assistance, or at least friendly neutrality. The service was one of considerable trust and some danger, and required qualifications which are not often combined in one person. Fortunately, in M. Mun-

zinger, who had continued zealously and efficiently to assist General Merewether up to this time, the necessary qualifications were to be found. A man of great simplicity and singleness of mind, he was devoted to the cause, and ready to make any sacrifice or run any risk to secure its success. He started from the Buya camp on the 1st of March, and made a rapid journey to the camp of Gobazyé's general and uncle, the Dadjatsh Mashesha, sending back careful daily itineraries of the road. Gobazyé himself was absent, with the flower of his troops, in the province of Bagemder, occupying the country as it was abandoned by the fallen king. Mashesha was encamped at the village of Zagulzaf, on a spur overlooking the Takkazyè valley; and afterwards he followed in the rear of Theodore's army, as it approached Mâgdala. M. Munzinger's presence with the army of Theodore's enemy was in itself a matter of the first importance. He was cordially received by Dadjatsh Mashesha, advanced with him to the Dalanta plateau, and continued to collect valuable information respecting the topography of Mâgdala, and to exercise a very beneficial influence on the powerful chiefs with whom he came in contact.

On the 26th of February, Colonel Phayre had gone one march beyond Buya, and formed a camp at Musgi, and on the 3rd of March he was joined by three companies of Sappers under Captain Goodfellow, to make the road. The Tigré territory, ruled over by Kâsa,

ends at the river Musgi, which divides it from the mountainous province of Wadjerât. The chief of Wadjerât, named Walda Yasoos, is thus placed between the territories of Kâsa and Gobazyé, and his abode is on the summit of the almost inaccessible fastness of Amba Alaji. During the reign of Theodore he continued faithful to him, but after the success of Kâsa he bowed to the rising sun, and, again changing his mind, thought his safer policy would be to become a vassal of the Wakshûm Gobazyé, thus exciting the enmity of the powerful ruler of Tigré. In short, this Walda Yasoos is a weak-minded trimmer, and at the moment of our passage through his territory he was most anxious to gain the countenance of the English general, dreading an attack from the chief whose allegiance he had quitted. He sent his brother Barya Gorgis to pay a complimentary visit to General Merewether at the Buya camp, and came himself to see and converse with M. Munzinger, when he passed under the lofty peak of Alaji, on which his abode is perched. But when Colonel Phayre began to look out for the best road in advance of Musgi, Walda Yasoos sent a guide purposely to mislead him, in order that the troops might not pass close under his amba, which is the best and most direct route. The mistake into which the Quartermaster-General was thus led, induced him to take a circuitous and most difficult road from Musgi to the valley of Atala, by the gorge of Gurub-dekdek and Mesno.

Major Grant and the Sind Horse, who were sent on in advance to buy grain, also took this route; but the mistake was soon afterwards discovered, and the direct road, passing under the peak of Alaji, was adopted for the main body.

A convention, similar to those which had been made in the other districts, was agreed upon with the people of Antâlo, to carry bags of grain to Atala; and General Merewether's system of native transport, thus once fairly set in motion, was continued along the whole line up to the gates of Mâgdala. He steadily pursued a policy of conciliation towards the natives, and attracted them to the camp by offers of high prices, and the prompt redress of all grievances. The incessant complaints against soldiers and camp-followers were always patiently heard, and impartially settled. More than nine-tenths of the provisions for the troops were brought to the front by means of Merewether's system of native transport—the Government mules conveying the other fraction. Thus the eventual success of the expedition was due, in no small degree, to the way in which this local assistance supplemented the work of the Government Transport Train.

The halt at Antâlo had continued for nearly a month. Latterly the delay was caused by the necessity for waiting for fresh supplies of dollars, such large sums having been expended on the purchase of pro-

visions. Only one coin is current among the Abyssinians, and nothing will induce them to take anything else. This is the Austrian Maria Theresa dollar of 1780. Even when that coin is offered, an Abyssinian examines it closely before he will take it, and counts the number of points on the crown and shoulder jewel. The dollars are manufactured for this market, and the Expedition was supplied with them from Trieste, by permission of the Austrian Government. There is no small change except the oblong pieces of rock salt, bound with a thong of hide, called *amuli*, 26 to 30 of which go to the dollar. But their bulk renders it impossible to carry them about, and they can only be used in the markets, where a dollar's worth is bought, before commencing other purchases.

A fresh supply of dollars arrived in due time, and the march to Mâgdala at length commenced on the 12th of March. The arrangements made at Antâlo for the advance to the south were as follow. Brigadier Collings, who had borne the heat and burden of the day in the early times of the Expedition, and had hitherto led the advance force, was, although the Senior Brigadier, left behind, in charge of the camp at Buya. Colonel Phayre was to be accompanied by a pioneer force consisting of two companies of the 33d, two of Native Sappers, one of Punjab Pioneers, and eighty sabres of Native Cavalry. It was commanded by Colonel Field of the 10th Native Infantry, who

received the local rank of a Brigadier-General. The rest of the force was divided into two brigades, under the command of Sir Charles Staveley. The Commander-in-Chief and Head-Quarters marched with the 1st Brigade, which originally consisted of the 33d Regiment, the Head-Quarters, and two companies of the Beloochees, the Head-Quarter wing of the 10th Bombay Native Infantry, the 10th company of Royal Engineers, the A battery of mountain guns, and Sind Horse. The 2d Brigade, with which Sir Charles Staveley and his staff marched, was composed of the 4th Regiment, a wing of the Beloochees, a company of Sappers, the Punjab Pioneers, Naval Brigade, the Armstrong guns and two mortars with the elephants, the B battery of mountain guns, and the 3d Bombay Cavalry.[1] The two brigades started together on the 12th, and halted for the night at Musgi, a distance of only eight miles over an easy road.

The march to Mâgdala was at last really commenced, and we entered the country of volcanic mountains, where water and vegetation is more plentiful, but also where the mountain passes are loftier, and the marching consequently more severe. But the magnificent scenery lightened the fatigue in no small degree: for there can be no doubt that it is less tiring to march through a beautiful country than over a

[1] It was calculated that 5,804 mules would be required to enable these two brigades to march for thirty days.

dead flat, although most of the men may be unconscious, or but half conscious, of the reason for this difference. They swore at the mountain passes, while actually enjoying their grandeur. "They tell us this is a table-land," exclaimed one of the 33d, in climbing up the Alaji ascent. "If it is, they have turned the table upside down, and we are scrambling up and down the legs."

On the 13th, the 1st Brigade was to march over the Alaji pass to Atala in one day, while the 2d did the same distance in two marches, halting for the night under the shady willows of Meshik. This was the first really heavy march that had been encountered since leaving Senafé. The road up the Beat Mayra valley, and over the Alaji saddle, was much frequented by natives, but had not been touched by Colonel Phayre's pioneer force, owing to the mistake in adopting the circuitous route by Mesno. It was consequently very bad, and the slight improvement that was achieved by a small working party was soon obliterated by two elephants accompanying the brigade. There was a great block of mules on the steep rocky ascent, and night closed in long before the baggage animals had reached the camp in the valley of Atala. Tired and foot-sore the stragglers kept dropping in, through the early hours of the morning.

Next day Sir Charles Staveley and the 2d Brigade arrived, having improved the road over the Alaji

saddle, and made it practicable for the elephants carrying guns and mortars; and on the 15th the chief of Wadjerât, Walda Yasoos, came down to visit the English general. This man was the only Abyssinian of mark who gave any trouble to the friendly invaders along the whole line of march. He is a mean, avaricious trimmer, anxious to keep well with all parties, and to take any petty advantage that offers itself. He came down from his fastness on the towering peak of Alaji, with a band of warriors armed with shield and spear—some with guns, and adorned with elaborately-plaited and thickly-buttered heads of hair. During the interview he expressed his desire to keep on friendly terms with the English, but declared that Kâsa was about to attack him, in spite of his promise to Sir Robert Napier to march in another direction.

On the same day the 1st Brigade marched across two ranges of mountains to Makhan, a distance of fourteen miles, the 2d Brigade following, and keeping one day's march in the rear. This was the second heavy and fatiguing march. For hours the long train of half-fed, badly-loaded mules was winding down the abrupt descent of 2,000 feet from the Ferrah saddle to the valley of Dobâ, and it was again long after dark before they all arrived at the Makhan camp. Worn-out mules would fall across the steep and rocky path, and bring the whole line to a halt, while they

were being unladen and hauled out of the way. From Wadjerât to the Ashangi Lake is the border land between the Abyssinian Christians and the Azebo Gallas, and the same incessant raids continue as were described by Alvarez in the sixteenth century, and by Pearce about fifty years ago. It was not considered safe for any one to wander far from the line of march, but there was no danger to an escort of even half a dozen properly-armed men.

The march from Makhan to Lake Ashangi was reported to be the most difficult that had hitherto been encountered, and M. Munzinger described one part as worse than anything he had seen since leaving the "Devil's Staircase" in the Senafé pass. There was now no force in front either to make the roads or establish markets; both which operations, to be properly and systematically done, required a staff duly supported, with a clear week or ten days before them, to prepare for the arrival of the main body. But since the loss of ground and time at Mesno, the Head-Quarters and 1st Brigade had come up to and regularly overriden the original pioneer force. So there was a halt of a day at Makhan, while the 33d was sent on one short march ahead, to make the road practicable for laden mules. This 33d had been the first English regiment to land at Mulkutto, and had worked hard and steadily ever since, though the men were addicted to strong language and liked an occa-

sional good growl. While on the coast they had caught many stray mules in the early days of the Expedition, that would otherwise have died of starvation, and had regularly taken charge of them until relieved by the arrival of muleteers. They had gone out grass-cutting at Senafé, had laid out the camp at Antâlo, and had worked hard at road-making along the whole line of march. If they could growl, they could also work—no men better. On the 18th the Head-Quarters left Makhan for Ashangi, the first part of the road passing through a wood of juniper-trees, and over a beautiful but uninhabited country, like an English park. The road then crosses a spur from the western mountains by a very steep zigzag path, and leads round the sides and head of a deep and precipitous gorge. The long train of laden mules painfully scrambled round this difficult mountain path, with many long stoppages; while Sir Robert Napier took his station on a jutting rock above them, to watch their progress. There is then a steep ascent through a wood chiefly of tree-heath, to the summit of the saddle, where the beautiful valley of Ashangi, with its bright blue lake, first bursts upon the view. The 33d were hard at work along all the bad parts of this difficult, and previously almost impassable route, down to the point where the level grassy shores of the lake are reached.

The camp at Ashangi was pitched on a pleasant greensward, near the north-west corner of the lake,

and the Commissariat market was opened by Lieut. Shewell, under the grateful shade of a clump of fine dahro-trees hard by. We had now entered the territory of the Wakshûm Gobazyé, whose views respecting the English were similar to those of Kâsa. He earnestly desired that the terrible Theodore should be destroyed by them, and that they should then disappear from the scene as soon as might be. So his chiefs and officers had orders to furnish all the assistance in their power, and to place no obstacles in the way of the people bringing in their produce for sale.

Azebo Gallas had paid visits to the camp at Antâlo and at Makhan, and several of these ill-conditioned savages made their appearance at Ashangi in the hope of getting presents in exchange for a little honey and ghee. There was a halt for a day at Ashangi, and these Galla ruffians were received in durbar by the Commander-in-Chief, who told them that he had found none but friends in Abyssinia, and that he trusted the visit of the English would long be remembered as one of a friendly and brotherly people. They received handsome presents and were dismissed; but fear, and not good faith or gratitude, alone kept these Azebo Gallas from becoming troublesome. They plait their hair in tight plaits, commencing from the centre of the crown, and hanging round the head in thick masses. Their favourite ornaments are the

entrails of cows, and, if possible, they are dirtier than the Abyssinians. A vile race of thieves and murderers.

On the 20th a short march was made to the camp at Mesagita, on the Wofela plain to the south of Lake Ashangi; there was another halt on the 21st, and on the 22d the 1st Brigade advanced over the Womberat mountains to Lât, a difficult but not a long march. On that evening an order was issued reducing the amount of baggage to be carried forward to the lowest possible scale. All large tents, officers' baggage, and Head-Quarter Office establishments were to be left behind, and small bell-tents only were to be taken on, in the proportion of one for twelve officers, and a similar one for twenty men. A third Brigade,[1] under Brigadier-General Field, was left in charge of the baggage, with orders to follow two marches in the rear, and clear the road for the elephants with the Armstrong guns and mortars.

The march from Lât led over the Dafat mountains, and down the steep descent into the broken country of Lasta on the 23d, the whole force being in very light marching order. The distance was only about eight miles from Lât to the pleasant valley of Marawa, where a premature halt was ordered, which entailed

[1] 12th Bengal Cavalry, three companies of Sappers, one company of the 4th, two companies of Punjab Pioneers, four companies of the 10th Native Infantry, four Armstrong guns, and two mortars.

an unusually long and heavy march to Dildi for the next day. Here the real campaigning commenced. The camp was composed of small bell-tents only, and there were no tables, chairs, bedsteads, luggage, nor any of the usual comforts of camp-life. The rations were of the roughest and most unvarying description, nothing but tough beef and chowpatties; and all shared alike, the Commander-in-Chief having no single luxury or comfort which was not possessed by the private soldier. The only difference was to be found in management and skilful foraging; and pre-eminent in those qualities was General Merewether's faithful old butler Francis. If a thing was to be got he had it, nor were his exertions confined to the service of his own tent; if breakfast was wanted for a fasting Commander-in-Chief, tiffin for a hungry aide-de-camp, or supper for a cold and tentless sub-altern, Francis was always equal to the occasion, and in these respects he reflected the warm and hearty hospitality of his master.

One of the most severe marches of the campaign was that of the 24th of March, from Marawa to Dildi, on the banks of the Tellarè, a distance of six-teen miles up and down the steep spurs of the Lasta mountains. The 33d, Beloochees, Punjab Pioneers, Sappers, Royal Engineers, A battery, and Sind Horse, started a little after eight in the morning, with the long train of mules. All day they scrambled up and

down the rocky paths on the tree-covered mountain-sides, the 33d carrying a heavy weight of blanket and waterproof in addition to their arms. The scenery was very beautiful, there being much cultivation up the mountain-sides, villages on the rounded summits of hills, and bright little streams flowing through shady groves in the hollows. As the long column passed along, all the inhabitants of the villages came out with their priests, and sat by the road-side, to see the audacious strangers who were going to attack the dreaded Theodore. Colonel Phayre had formed his advanced camp of Dildi on the opposite side of the Tellarè, which flows noisily through a deep rocky gorge, with the lofty Abuya-meder mountains towering up to a great height on the south. The position for the approaching brigade was fixed on the near bank of the river, but it was late in the afternoon before the headmost troops began to arrive. Hitherto we had had lovely weather, but on this evening, soon after sunset, heavy rain began to fall, accompanied by thunder and lightning. All through the early part of the night the troops were straggling in, foot-sore, hungry, and wet. Colonel Fraser, one of Sir Robert Napier's extra aides-de-camp, who was appointed to place and inspect the piquets during the campaign, had performed this duty in the afternoon; but as the men kept dropping in, stumbling over the tent-ropes in the darkness, and noisily calling to each other, the

thought was unavoidable that it was fortunate there was no enemy in the field.

Fitaurari Phayre had at last been overtaken; but the day before the arrival of the 1st Brigade at Dildi, he had examined the passes over the Abuya-meders, performing a feat of pedestrianism which tired out the younger men who were with him, and on the 25th he once more marched ahead to reconnoitre as far as the Wadela plateau. Meanwhile the tired troops and mules were halted for the day at Dildi, where grain was purchased from the villagers.

On the 26th, the 33d were paraded and addressed by the Commander-in-Chief, who ordered that they should no longer march with him in the front, but fall back to the 2d Brigade. This was due to a want of reticence in expressing their opinions upon things in general during that tough march from Marawa to Dildi. The 4th were ordered to take the place of the 33d, which necessitated a double march, as the Head-Quarters went on the same morning. From Dildi the route crosses the Tellarè, and continues by a steep continuous ascent, along a well-traced and very tolerable natives' track, up the sides of the Abuya-meder mountains, to the summit of the pass of Wandaj. The distance is about seven miles, and the ascent upwards of 3,000 feet, Wandaj being the highest point reached by the expedition—nearly 11,000 feet above the sea. The camp was a few hundred yards

on the south side of the summit, and, before we reached it, a heavy storm of rain set in, black clouds rolling up from the east, and bursting with great fury over the mountain-tops. The bold masses of rock stood out in strong relief against the murky sky, and far away to the south there was a wide view of the Takkazyè valley, and the dark line of the Wadela plateau beyond. After sunset the cold at this great elevation was severe, the camping ground was a muddy ploughed field, and the road was rendered so slippery that the 4th Regiment, having had to make a forced march, did not arrive until after midnight.

The next day a very short march was made down one of the spurs of the Abuya-meders to a place called Moja, on the edge of the deep Sohona ravine, which opens upon the Takkazyè valley. Opposite, on another spur, was the village of Zagulzaf, where the army of the Wakshûm had been so long encamped, and we were within about eight miles of the famous rock-hewn churches of Lalibela, the capital of Lasta.[1] There was now not a drop of rum in the camp, except a very small supply reserved for the sick, and no sugar. The last glasses of grog, or rather of flip, were drunk on the summit of the Wandaj pass. Indeed, after all the enormous preparations, tea and compressed vegetables were the only rations which came from the base of operations. The advanced

[1] See page 10, and note.

force was subsisting, in all other respects, on the resources of the country; nor did the troops ever suffer from want of wholesome food—meat and flour.

On the 28th the 1st Brigade marched down into the valley of the Takkazyè, crossed the river, and ascended the precipitous wall of volcanic rock, upwards of 2,000 feet high, to the plateau of Wadela. The south side of the Takkazyè ravine, forming the edge of the Wadela plateau,[1] rises up abruptly from the valley—a most formidable-looking wall to scale. The troops rested at the village of Gubia-meder for a short time, while the zigzag road was being made practicable. The ascent is very steep, the upper part being a scarped cliff, with two long zigzags along its face; and, on reaching its summit and encamping at Santara on the plateau, the force reached a new region, wilder and more desolate, but cold and bracing, and more like the Orkneys than Africa.

At Santara there was a halt to give time for the other brigades to come up, as we were now approaching the enemy, and the beginning of the end was at hand. It took seventeen days to march about 118 miles from the Buya camp, near Antâlo, to the Wadela plateau, which gives an average of seven miles a day, and out of those seventeen days, six were halts and two very short marches. This would appear to be very easy work indeed, but it must be remembered

[1] Geographically; but, politically, this part of Wadela is in Last a.

that there were six formidable ranges of mountains[1] to cross, and that the men were at work mending the roads during the halts, and even on the marching days. On the whole it was rather severe work, very creditably performed. But the weather was delightful, the climate healthy and bracing, and there had been no rain, except on the evenings of the 24th and 25th.

[1] Namely, the saddle of Alaji, the range from the Atala to the Ayba valley, the saddle of Ferrah, the formidable range between Makhan and Ashangi, the Womberat and Dafat ranges, and the Abuya-meder mountains; besides the rugged spurs on the march from Marawa to Dikli.

CHAPTER IX.

Description of the Wadela and Dalanta plateaux—Topography of Mâgdala —Amba Geshen—March of Theodore from Debra Tabor to Mâgdala—March of the English across the plateaux to the Beshilo ravine.

THE neighbourhood of Mâgdala was now reached—the country of trachyte and columnar basalt, cut lengthways by profound ravines. It is totally different in character from any part of the region which had hitherto been traversed by the English expedition. The Wadela plateau rises abruptly from the south side of the Takkazyè valley to a height of 9,000 to 10,000 feet, and on its summit there is an extensive table-land, in some places consisting of rolling hills and rocky ridges, in others of a perfectly flat plain. This table-land is divided by the gorge of the river Jidda into the plateaux of Wadela and Dalanta, while the larger Beshilo river bounds Dalanta on the other or eastern side. The two streams unite, and form one of the principal affluents of the Abai or Blue Nile.

Wadela lies between the rivers Tchetchéo and Jidda, with the Takkazyè on its northern side. The

WADELA AND DALANTA PLATEAUX AND MÁGDALA.

English Miles

London, Macmillan & Co.

northern part of this plateau is a formation of trachyte, with large beds of black tourmaline. This rock is also found broken up into pebbles, and filling the beds of some of the ravines. It was mistaken for coal, and one or two people even tried to cook their dinners with it. The trachyte ends at a place called Gaso, ten miles south of Santara, and the southern half of Wadela is composed of columnar basalt. The plateau is without trees or bushes, except where clumps of kosso and juniper have been planted round the churches. In these positions they thrive well, and are pleasing objects for the eye to rest on, in ranging over the wild bare landscape. The rolling hills and valleys are covered with grass, amongst which appear bright little yellow compositæ; and I found some of those curious lobeliaceæ, which were first met with on the Wandaj pass,[1] growing in the clefts of the rocks. The scenery is more like that of the interior of one of the Orkney Islands than any other place I can remember. Long stretches of grassy hill and dale, streams flowing to the Jidda in narrow valleys, occasional rocky ridges, and here and there, amongst the hills, a lonely tarn where a couple of the small geese peculiar to Wadela were sure to be standing on the banks. But there is a great deal of corn cultivation, especially towards the south, and small horses, asses, cattle, sheep, and goats are bred in large numbers. All the

[1] See page 252.

country-people have their horses, and even the young girls, two on one pony, are fearless riders from village to village. The inhabitants weave woollen and cotton cloths.

The ravine of the Jidda is upwards of 3,000 feet in depth, the formation consisting of columnar basalt, with occasional beds of intruding white clay. Large lumps of a kind of prase opal also occur. Nature has been working here on her most gigantic scale. The whole of this vast depth appears to have been excavated; in the course of ages, by the action of water, and millions of tons of fertilizing soil have thus been carried down, to form the valley of the Nile. The terraces, occurring at equal heights on either side of the ravine, would seem to show that this vast opening was formed by the action of water during a course of ages, rather than by a rending and cracking of the basalt in the process of cooling. The sides of the ravine have a parched arid look, the upper parts consisting of dark scarped cliffs, and the only vegetation being kol-qualls and mimosa-trees, scattered far apart. Some fine dahro-trees grow in the bottom, where the bed of the river is 200 yards across. But in March and April the water is only in pools, connected by percolation under the stones.

The Dalanta plateau is entirely composed of columnar basalt, and is nearly flat, being covered with grass and ploughed land, but quite treeless, except the clumps

round the churches. It is divided from the Daunt plateau to the south by a deep gorge connecting the Jidda and Beshilo ravines, and is thus bounded on all sides, except the north, by precipitous gorges. There is a deep black soil on the surface, which in this season is cracked in all directions, and all these plateaux produce wheat and barley in great quantities; but where the streams have worn this soil away, the pentagon-shaped tops of the basalt columns are exposed to view. The flora, at an elevation of 9,000 feet above the sea, is very English, consisting of dog-roses, nettles, an orchis, yellow and purple compositæ, white clover, and plantain.

The eastern face of the Dalanta plateau forms a straight wall of columnar basalt, descending 3,600 feet to the bed of the Beshilo, which is a muddy stream about girth deep at this season.

But on the other side of the Beshilo the ground is broken up by deep ravines and gorges into a rugged mountainous country, with only isolated plateaux, such as Mâgdala, here and there rising to a level with that of Dalanta. It appeared as if the whole region had once been one vast basaltic plateau, but that while Dalanta and Wadela, protected from further denudation by the Tchetchéo, Jidda, and Beshilo ravines which flank them, had remained as lofty, flat-topped plateaux, the Mâgdala region to the eastward of the Beshilo, unprotected by such flanking gorges,

had been cut up by the resistless flow of drainage from the lofty mountains of Worro-haimanot, whose peaks we could see in the far east.

The Tanta and Ambala-sieda plateaux, nearly corresponding in height with Dalanta, form a semicircle round the famed stronghold of Theodore. Mâgdala itself is an isolated flat-topped mountain of columnar basalt, with perpendicular sides, more than 9,000 feet above the sea, and two miles long by half a mile, connected with the Tanta plateau to the eastward—first by a low terrace called Sangallat, and then by the ridge or saddle of Thaddat. Tanta itself stoops, as it were, to meet this isthmus by means of a terrace of lower elevation called Waynee-waha.[1] On either side of this isthmus commence two deep ravines, called Mênchura and Kûlkula, which run down to the Beshilo, and bound the Mâgdala region on the north and south. But Mâgdala itself—the actual fortress or *amba*—is only a part of the system of plateau, saddle, and peak, forming the summit of a curious mountain mass, which rises up between the Mênchura and Kûlkula gorges. This system of peak and plateau is in the shape of a curve, Mâgdala being at the east end, a trachytic peak called Selassyè, from a church dedicated to the Trinity at its base, on the turn of the curve, and the smaller plateau called Fâla on the south-west end. Selassyè and Mâgdala are connected by a

[1] Literally, "wine or raisin water."

saddle about a mile long, called Islamgyè, bounded on either flank by scarped precipices, with sides below, sloping rapidly down to the ravines, and covered with trees and bushes. The Mênchura and Kûlkula ravines are nearly 3,000 feet below the *amba*, so that the scenery is magnificent, and there is a distance of about seven miles between the ascent to Selassyè and the bed of the Beshilo. In this direction the land slopes down in a succession of hills and terraces, which are divided into two by the valley of the Wurka-waha, leading to the Beshilo.[1] This valley is formed by four deep ravines which converge to its head. The principal one, rendered memorable by the terrible slaughter which took place in it, commences at the foot of the Fâla saddle, and is, by a strange coincidence, called Dam-wanz.[2] The next divides the heights of Arogyè and Aficho. At the foot of the ascent to the saddle between Fâla and Selassyè, and to the right or south of the Dam-wanz, is the plain of Arogyè. Then comes the plateau of Aficho at a higher elevation, with a ravine between them, and lower down, extending to the Beshilo, is the steep and rugged spur of Gumbagi. The broken hilly country to the north of the Wurka-waha valley, between that valley and the Mênchura ravine, is called Neft. This Mâgdala region is clothed with a shrubby vegetation

[1] Literally, "golden water."

[2] Literally, "the ravine of blood."

of the same character as that along the whole of this watershed from Senafé. Kol-qualls rear their quaint formal candelabra branches all over the ravine sides; there were crotalarias, cassias, and celastrus, and bushes everywhere of the *Myrsine Africana*, and of the ubiquitous labiate plant called *tchendog*.

A description of this region would be incomplete without allusion to Amba Geshen or Amara, the most renowned mountain in Abyssinia, which is visible from Mâgdala, bearing N. 60° E. about five miles. It is an isolated amba of greater height than Theodore's stronghold, and with a permanent water supply. Clumps of trees, and a circular church, could be made out upon it with a good glass. It was on Amba Geshen or Amara that all the princes of the blood royal of Abyssinia were confined, except the reigning sovereign;[1] and the glowing description of this secluded royal abode given by the Spanish monk Ureta, and copied by old Purchas, led to its coming to the

[1] It is said that Yekweno Amlak, the first king of the restored dynasty (see page 11), did not divide his kingdom among his sons at his death, but left in his will that they should each reign for a year alternately. The first who reigned felt no inclination to abdicate at the end of one year; so he seized all his brothers, and imprisoned them on Amba Geshen. The same custom was observed by all successive kings of Abyssinia for 200 years. It was put a stop to by Negûs Nahod, in about 1460. A chief happened to remark that one of the young princes was growing very big, when the boy turned to his father, with his eyes brimming over with tears, and exclaimed, "What, am I big enough for Amba Geshen?" This so affected the Negûs, that he made all his sons and chiefs swear that no member of the royal family should ever again be confined there. Thus the custom was abolished. (Tellez, p. 47.)

knowledge of Milton, and to its being alluded to in "Paradise Lost."

> "Nor where Abassin kings their issue guard
> Mount Amara, though this by some supposed
> True Paradise under the Ethiop line,
> By Nilus' head, enclosed with shining rock
> A whole day's journey high." [1]

The description by Milton is quite correct. The rugged and difficult ascent from the Beshilo would be a good day's journey; and the beds of beautiful opal and chalcedony in the basalt may well entitle the scarped cliffs of Amba Geshen to be described as a shining wall. Dr. Johnson appears also to have based his account of the beautiful valley in his story of Rasselas,[2] on the tale told by Ureta, as quoted in Purchas. The real valley, or rather mountain of Rasselas, is Amba Geshen, within sight of Mágdala; so that it was quite an allowable poetical licence for Mr. Disraeli to talk of the English having planted the standard of St. George on the mountains of Rasselas. But Ureta was an untrustworthy old romancer, and the true Amba Geshen, as described by more reliable authors, and as it really exists, is a dreary abode enough, with, however, a delightful climate.

It has been necessary to describe the topography of

[1] Book iv. line 280.

[2] Dr. Johnson no doubt got the name Rasselas from the two first words of *Râs Śela* Cristos, an Abyssinian prince, who played a prominent part in the history of the country during the time of the Jesuits. (See page 33.)

the lofty plateaux of Wadela and Dalanta, and of the region round Mágdala, in some detail, because there was the closing scene of the Abyssinian expedition. Turn we now to the enemy against whom the British force was advancing, who was detaining the representatives of England in irons, and defying her power. That extraordinary man was also executing a march to Mágdala, and surmounting difficulties in a way which afterwards excited the admiration and astonishment of his enemies. He commenced that march when the English landed at Mulkutto, and completed it when they arrived at the edge of the Wadela plateau. He won the race, though so heavily weighted that it was wonderful he was able to move at all, in such a country.

Lieutenant Prideaux has well pointed out that when Theodore unaccountably abandoned his march against the rebels, returned to Debra Tabor, and began to plunder and devastate his one faithful province of Bagemder, which was the base of his operations, he sealed his own doom. From that time until he commenced his march to Mágdala, his acts were those of a ferocious lunatic. In April 1867 Mr. Flad returned from England, and met the King at Dembea, where he plainly stated that the artisans and presents would not be sent up from Massowa until the prisoners were released, and that their detention would lead to very serious consequences. On this occasion, Theodore

showed none of his former adroitness and cunning, but broke out into words of defiance. "I have asked from them a sign of friendship," he exclaimed, "but it is refused to me. If they wish to come and fight, let them come, and call me a woman if I do not beat them." Mr. Flad, whom the King undoubtedly admired for his thorough honesty, and his courage in returning to share the fate of his wife and children,[1] was then dismissed to join his family and the German artisans at Gaffat. During the whole of the next year, Theodore was desolating the one region which had always been faithful to him. He burnt Gondar, destroyed all the villages round Debra Tabor, and put to frightfully cruel deaths upwards of 3,000 people, in the course of eighteen months. The consequence was that the inhabitants of Bagemder, who had hitherto been devoted to his service, rose as one man against the tyrant and his fast-diminishing army. Every night the rebels attacked his camp, all stragglers and plunderers were cut off, and his atrocities were retaliated upon the soldiers who fell into the hands of the country people.

This could not last long. Provisions of every kind soon failed: it became absolutely necessary to leave the once rich province which, in his mad rage, Theodore had converted into a desert, and he resolved

[1] "Look at that Flad!" he once said. "He never was my friend, but he came back for the sake of his wife and children, to die with them."

to march to his last stronghold, the fortress of Mágdala. The German workmen had been fully employed during the year in casting heavy ordnance and constructing waggons for moving the guns and mortars. Five of them—Staiger, Brandeis, Schiller, Essler, and Mackerer—had formed a design to attempt an escape, but they took the Frenchman Bardel into their confidence, who betrayed them in order to ingratiate himself with the King, and the five unfortunate men were put into hand and foot chains, and were ever afterwards treated as prisoners.

On the 10th of October, 1867, Theodore burnt his capital of Debra Tabor, and began his march to Mágdala, with his European workmen, about 6,000 soldiers, and a vast host of camp-followers: for all the unfortunate people whose villages and means of subsistence he had destroyed, crowded to his camp as the only way of continuing to exist.

From this date the reign of King Theodore may be considered to have come to an end; for, besides Mágdala, he now literally had not a foot of ground he could call his own, beyond that on which he and his soldiers stood. His career had been most remarkable. Rising to power through his own unaided ability, carrying all before him by his audacity and military genius, and actuated at the commencement of his reign by high and noble aims, his failure may be set down to ignorance of the art of governing, and

to his own inordinate pride. The latter grave fault in his character increased with the opposition he met with from rebels, until at last he became mad with ungovernable insolence, drunk with power and despotism. This alone can account for the unreasoning cruelties and wild insensate acts of the last years of his reign. At that time the few good and noble points in the man were eclipsed, but were not entirely extinguished. He was a genius, and a very remarkable one. It is a misuse of terms to call him a savage, except in the sense that Peter the Great was a savage. They were both born kings of men; both endowed with military genius; both lovers of the mechanical arts; both possessed of dauntless courage; and, while capable of noble and generous acts, both were frequently guilty of perpetrating most horrible atrocities.

When Theodore was fallen, and had commenced his forlorn march, many of the great qualities of his younger days returned to him again. He became more considerate to his soldiers, and certainly displayed an amount of indomitable energy, military skill, and fertility of resource that entitles his march to rank as one of the most remarkable in history. With no base of operations, surrounded by watchful enemies, and with the necessity of constructing roads for heavy artillery over a most difficult country, he yet overcame all these obstacles, and achieved what

was certainly looked upon by his countrymen as an impossibility.

After toiling for more than a month, at the rate of about two miles a day, over the country called Gahint, between Debra Tabor and the river Tchetchéo, he reached that river on the 22d of November, with twenty heavy waggons dragged by his soldiers. All the villagers fled at the approach of the outlawed King, and those who fell into his hands were condemned as rebels to the "fire death." Worn out by incessant labour and want of food, many soldiers deserted every night; for, besides dragging the waggons, they had to work at the roads, and every second or third day were sent out in search of plunder. Theodore himself was ever foremost in directing the road-making, and often worked with his own hands, clearing away boulders, and making causeways over streams and morasses with stones covered with earth. Beyond the Tchetchéo it was necessary to ascend the side of a most formidable ravine to Zebit, a continuation of the Wadela plateau.

The construction of the road from the Tchetchéo to Zebit occupied Theodore for three weeks continually, while the enemy harassed and attacked his rear, and many of his own soldiers deserted. It is believed that it was during this period that he first heard of the arrival of the English at Mulkutto; for, though he said nothing, he was one day in a furious

passion and abused all the Europeans in unmeasured terms. On the other hand, he released the five unfortunate prisoners from their hand chains, on the occasion of one of them, named Staiger, having cut out the pattern for a royal coat.

At length, after blasting away rock and building up revetments, Theodore made a sufficiently good road for his ponderous waggons to be hauled up to Zebit, where he was enabled to plunder a considerable quantity of grain and cattle. Thence the road was tolerably easy across the Wadela plateau to Bêṭ-ḥor, on the brink of the Jidda ravine, which place he reached on the 1st of January, 1868. The powerful rebel, Wakshûm Gobazyé, had watched him all this time, but such was the prestige of the terrible Theodore that he never dared to attack him.

An extensive area of ground was covered by the King's camp at Bêt-hor. The soldiers made small circular bowers of branches, at each halt, called *gojas*, and besides there were many tents. The obstacle presented by the tremendous Jidda ravine would have daunted most men, but Theodore never hesitated. He at once set about the construction of a first-class road, practicable for heavy artillery. The trace is well selected, though there are some very steep gradients; but there is an average width of 30 or 40 feet. It is a most remarkable work—a monument of dogged and unconquerable resolution. Rocks were blasted, trees sawn

down, revetment walls of loose stone mixed with earth and branches built up, and everywhere a strengthening hedge of branches at the outer sides, to prevent the earthwork from slipping. The details of blasting and revetting were of course done under the direction of his German artisans; but the King himself was the chief engineer, who selected the trace and organized the labour. At one or two points several trial traces were marked out, before the final one was adopted. From Bêt-hor to the bed of the Jidda, 3,200 feet in perpendicular height, is a distance of four miles and six furlongs by Theodore's road. From early dawn until dark the Europeans were obliged to be in attendance on this extraordinary man, whose resolute determination to overcome all obstacles never failed him. On the 28th they reached the bed of the river.

He then resolved to send his prisoners to Mágdala. Troops were ordered from that fortress under the command of a chief named Bitwaddad Damâsh, on the 8th, and returned on the 26th with 180 prisoners, including the five Europeans. Mrs. Rosenthal was also allowed to take this opportunity of proceeding to Mágdala, to join her husband.

The ascent from the Jidda to the Dalanta plateau was a work of equal magnitude. By the 5th of February the King had got his guns half-way up the ascent, to a terrace called Amercot, and on the 20th

he was encamped on the Dalanta plateau. Well might Mr. Flad exclaim, "He has indeed an iron perseverance!"

At about this time the fallen King began to talk to his German servants of the approach of the English troops, and he gave them the impression that he hoped to be reconciled with the invaders, and that their lives were consequently safe. One day, talking of the English, he said to his favourite German Waldmeier: "Well, it seems to me to be the will of God that they come. If He who is above us does not kill me, none can slay me. Remember the history of Hezekiah and Sennacherib." On another occasion he said to Bender: "I long for the day on which I shall have the pleasure of seeing a disciplined European army. I am like Simeon, who could rejoice at having the Saviour in his arms. But he was old and died, and I am old too; and I hope God will spare me to see them. I am no more proud of my soldiers. We are nothing in comparison to a disciplined army, where thousands of men act under the command of one man."

On the 1st of March, having plundered all the Dalanta villages within reach, he began making the road down the Beshilo ravine, and on the 14th he crossed the river with his guns and waggons. The wonderful march was now nearly at an end; there remained only to drag the heavy ordnance up the

Wark-wahâ valley to Arogyè, and thence up the steep declivity of the Fâla saddle to Islamgyè, at the foot of Mágdala. At this time all the Europeans were very strictly guarded, had to be constantly with the King, and were obliged to sleep together in one tent, with sentries over them. But he was civil to them, and occasionally conversed about the approach of the English. One day he said to Waldmeier: "With love and friendship the English will conquer me, but if they come otherwise, I know that they will not spare, and I shall make a blood bath and die."

On March 18th, when Theodore's army reached Arogyè, orders were sent up to Mágdala to remove Mr. Rassam's irons; and on the 25th the camp was formed on the saddle of Islamgyè. On the 29th the King came up to Mágdala, a silk tent was pitched in the great open square, carpets were spread round it, and Mr. Rassam was sent for from his hut. The interview was most friendly, and the King was agreeable and gracious. He told Rassam that his sole reason for ill-treating him was that he might compel England to send troops to Abyssinia, and that his object was gained. He also said: "Some day you may see me dead, and while you stand by my corpse, you will curse me for having ill-treated you. You may say at the same time: 'This wicked man ought not to be buried, let his remains rot above ground.' But I trust

to your generosity." He also ordered the chains to be taken off Dr. Blanc and Lieut. Prideaux, and told them they had nothing to fear, however the fortune of war might turn out.

On the 2d of April, Theodore invited Mr. Rassam, Dr. Blanc, and Lieut. Prideaux to come down to Islamgyè and see the great mortar brought up. They found him energetically superintending the making of the road, while 500 men were hauling at the waggon. He received them with great civility, and, at their request, ordered the fetters to be removed from all the other prisoners. After the mortar had been safely landed on Islamgyè, he sat conversing with them for some time, and said that if his power had been as strong as it was a few years ago, he would have met the British on landing, but that now he had lost all Abyssinia, and had only that rock, so he could not do otherwise than wait for them. He afterwards told Mr. Rassam that when he was excited he was not responsible for his actions. As soon as all the guns were on Islamgyè a salute was fired, and the mission returned to Mágdala in the afternoon.

On the 8th they were again sent for to come down to the camp on Islamgyè, and the whole of the unfortunate native prisoners were brought down also, 570 in number. On the 9th he liberated some thirty-seven chiefs, including his faithful minister Râs Engeda, Kantiba Hailo, and Balambras Tesama, and the whole

of the women and children, amounting to 186. He then drank deeply, and went to lie down in his tent. He was aroused by the loud cries of the captives who had not been set free, clamouring for food. This enraged him to such a degree that in his drunken fury he ordered them all to be put to death, commencing the work himself by cutting down one with his sword, and shooting two others with his pistols. The rest were hurled alive over the precipice of Islamgyè, and those who showed any signs of life were fired upon by the soldiers stationed below. The massacre lasted from about 4 until 6.30 P.M., and there were no less than 197 victims, only thirty-five of whom were criminals. About ninety remained, most of them powerful chiefs and the deadly enemies of this strange inconsistent tyrant, who were spared and sent back to Mágdala. Theodore's valet asserts that he spent most of the night after this horrible massacre in prayer, and that he was heard confessing to God that he was drunk when he committed it, and pleading that it should not be laid to his charge.[1]

On the 10th Rassam and the others were sent up to Mágdala again, and the King began to make a road by which he dragged several of his heavy guns up to the table-land of Fâla, where they were placed in position. He constantly watched the road down to the Beshilo for the appearance of the English army,

[1] Statement of Walda Gâbir.

sitting for hours on the top of the Selassyè peak, and scanning the ridge of Dalanta with his excellent glass. Besides his artillery he had some 3,000 men armed with tolerably good muzzle-loading muskets and fowling-pieces, and a great mob of matchlock and spear men; but he must have been well instructed enough to know that they could not stand for a moment against the superior arms and discipline of the English. His feelings were no doubt mixed at this time, and his intentions uncertain. Having entirely lost his power, he probably viewed the approach of the invaders with a reckless sort of curiosity, but at the same time he evidently entertained hopes that he might obtain their friendship, and even their active assistance, by conceding their demands.

The English Commander-in-Chief, with the 1st Brigade, had encamped at Santara on the Wadela plateau on the 28th of March, where there was a halt for two days to allow the rest of the force to come up. The pleasant grassy plain on which the tents were pitched is surrounded by rocky hills, and a clear stream, with deep pools and a gravelly bed, flows sluggishly through it. The climate was bracing and exhilarating, with a warm sun in the day, and ice forming at night.

On the morning of the 29th a messenger arrived to announce the approach of Dadjatsh Mashesha, the

hereditary ruler of Lasta, and maternal uncle of the Wakshûm Gobazyé, whose army he was commanding during that chief's absence in Bagemder. Gobazyé himself had written a letter to Sir Robert Napier, regretting that he was unable to have a personal interview. At about 11 A.M. the rocky heights to the south of the camp were suddenly crowned by about 400 cavalry. Ordinary horsemen would have descended the steep declivity in column by a winding pass that exists, but these fearless riders, mounted on their hardy Galla ponies, came down the rocky hillsides in line, over places that would have puzzled even a goat. They then formed in good order on the other side of the Santara stream, while the Dadjatsh himself and M. Munzinger, with about twenty followers, rode into camp; and, after remaining a short time in General Merewether's tent, the former was introduced to the Commander-in-Chief. The 4th Regiment was drawn up as a guard of honour. Mashesha is a dark man, rather beyond middle age, with very Jewish features, and a deep cut on his left cheek and ear. He had a sword with a handsomely-ornamented scabbard, and a splendid shield with bosses of filagree gold-work, and a lion's tail. His manners were quiet, dignified, and very prepossessing; and he was certainly more like a gentleman than any of the chiefs we had seen in Tigré. The interview was very satisfactory. Mashesha said that he had his master's orders to

render all the assistance in his power; and, after receiving some presents, he departed to quell a petty outbreak in the southern part of Wadela.

On the forenoon of the 30th Sir Charles Staveley and the 2d Brigade arrived at Santara. The 33d marched in at 9.30 A.M. playing "Here we are again;" followed by the Head-Quarter Wing of the Punjab Pioneers, commanded by Major Chamberlain; and the Naval Rocket Brigade, under Captain Fellowes of the *Dryad*. The Blue-jackets were, beyond dispute, the *élite* of the force. Always merry and cheerful, treating their mules well and kindly, and loading them in a workmanlike manner, they went merrily over the marches, and passed their evenings in singing. They gave new life to the camp. Next to the sailors, in efficiency, came their great chums the Musby Sikhs who composed the regiment of Punjab Pioneers. One company, under Captain Currie, had been making the roads all the way from Raha-guddy to Wadela; and now the main body under Chamberlain, after having done much hard service under the scorching sun of Mulkutto, had come to the front, and was destined to do most of the hard work, and most of the fighting. The close friendship between the Blue-jackets and the Sikhs, who could not speak a word to each other, was most amusing. Really good fellows have a natural affinity for each other.

The 3d Brigade was broken up at Santara, and

Colonel Field returned to the command of the 10th Native Infantry. The other two Brigades, now assembled on the Wadela plateau, numbered 4,135 officers and men of all arms.

Early in the morning of the 31st, Major Mignon, the senior Commissariat officer, reported that the country people were not delivering the bags of flour regularly, and that the supply in hand would only last until the 6th. This extraordinary announcement speaks volumes as to the nature of the arrangements that had been made with regard to the Transport Train, and shows how completely the success of the expedition depended on General Merewether's scheme of local transport. The system of native carriage had broken down between Atala and Ashangi, owing to the avarice of Walda Yasoos of Wadjerât and of some petty chiefs, who were levying heavy black-mail on the bags carried by their people, and immediately there was a sort of panic in the front. Major Grant and Captain Moore were sent back along the line to get things into working order, with directions not to return to the front until they had sent forward six weeks' provisions for 7,000 men. Major Grant went to Lât, and Captain Moore to Ashangi, and their exertions soon set matters to rights. The importance of their services was a compensation for the disappointment of being too late for the final catastrophe at Mágdala. Even General Merewether himself had to go

back to the Takkazyè valley, where efficient measures were rapidly taken for purchasing supplies. Lieut. Shewell, one of the most active and intelligent of the Commissariat officers, purchased large quantities in the valley between the 1st and 22d of April. He not only bought upwards of 200,000 lbs. of flour, 19,000 lbs. of barley, 14,000 lbs. of other grain, and 16,000 lbs. of coffee, but sent nearly the whole of it to the front by native transport. All danger of falling short of absolute necessaries was thus averted.

The shortest way to Mágdala, from the point at which the British force had arrived on the Wadela plateau, would have been by a place called Kosso Amba, turning the Jidda, and marching down the length of the Dalanta table-land. But M. Munzinger, who had returned to the camp after carefully examining the country, recommended that (the direct road by Kosso Amba being much broken up by ravines) the troops should march down the Wadela plateau for thirty-five miles to the point at Bêt-hor, where King Theodore's road crosses the Jidda; and then follow that grand road to Mágdala. This advice was adopted without any further reconnoissance, and on the last day of March the 1st Brigade moved forward, Sir Charles Staveley following one march in the rear.

An easy march of ten miles over rolling, grassy hills, with occasional ploughed land and stubble fields,

brought us to a stream called Gaso, near a conspicuous scattered clump of kosso-trees, where the camp was pitched. Next day, being the 1st of April, there was a march of sixteen miles over the same grassy plains, with villages and cultivation here and there amongst the hills, to Abdakom; and a third very short march brought the brigade to the fourth Wadela encampment, close to the village of Yasendyè.[1] On the 2d Sir Robert Napier and his staff rode from Yasendyè to Bêt-hor, a distance of seven miles, to reconnoitre the head of Theodore's road down the Jidda ravine; and the same day General Merewether returned to the front, after having put everything in train in the Takkazyè valley.

It was at Yasendyè that the first blood was drawn in the Abyssinian campaign. In the afternoon of April 2d Dadjatsh Mashesha arrived on a visit, with a body of cavalry. On his departure, he and his party passed safely through the piquets of the 1st Brigade, and dispersed to quarter themselves on the surrounding villages; but, unfortunately, the 2d Brigade, then encamped at Abdakom, knew nothing of this visit, and their piquets, mistaking a body of about a hundred Abyssinian cavalry for the enemy, advanced against them in skirmishing order. The alarm was sounded, the cavalry charged, and one Abyssinian was

[1] Literally "of the wheat." There is much corn grown in the neighbourhood.

shot through the head, and another run through the body.[1] Luckily M. Munzinger galloped up just in time and explained, or in a few minutes the luckless Abyssinian cavalry would have been cut to pieces. An apology was immediately sent to Mashesha, who politely replied that it was not of the least consequence, his only fear being that rumour might exaggerate the affair into a conflict between the English and the troops of Gobazyé. Subsequently Abyssinians were stationed with each piquet to prevent the recurrence of mistakes of this kind.

This part of Wadela had suffered much from the march of the King's army, and the blackened ruins of villages on every side attested the devastating inroads of his plundering troops. Yet the inhabitants had succeeded in concealing large quantities of grain in their underground granaries,[2] and they were ready to

[1] This poor boy had two sabre-thrusts right through the body, which, however, did not kill him.

[2] Pearce gives a curious account of the way plunderers discover the hidden stores of grain. The villagers make large pits with very narrow holes, some of them holding 400 bushels of grain. They are made in the open fields, and when an invasion is expected, the corn is concealed in them, and the mouths of the holes are carefully covered. Then the whole field is ploughed over to conceal the place. After they have burnt the village, the plunderers form into different parties to search for these underground granaries. Keeping in a close body, they begin to sing their war-songs, stamping and going on at a regular pace, keeping time with their song, throwing their shields over their heads, and holding their spears in the air, as if they were not in search of anything, but singing and dancing for pastime. In this manner they continue until they find the ground sound hollow under their feet, when they lay their shields in a circle round the

sell it to the English Commissariat. Dadjatsh Walda Kêrlos, the chief of Wadela, who had married Gobazyé's mother, and Lij Abagâz of Dalanta, did all that was in their power to furnish supplies both of corn and meat; and soon all apprehension of the Expedition being stopped for want of supplies became groundless.

In the evening of the 3d intelligence arrived that Theodore was showing signs of an intention to undertake some expedition from Mágdala; and it was therefore resolved to occupy the Dalanta plateau, by going to Bêt-hor, and across the Jidda ravine, in one march on the following day. Sir Robert Napier also addressed the following letter to the King, which duly arrived; and though Theodore refused to receive it, he took care to be informed of its contents through Ayto Samuel:—

"By command of the Queen of England, I am approaching Mágdala with an army, in order to recover from your hands Envoy Rassam, Consul Cameron, Dr. Blanc, Lieutenant Prideaux, and the other Europeans now in your Majesty's power. I request your Majesty to send them to my camp, as soon as it is sufficiently near to admit of their coming in safety."

spot, and set to with both hands, as eager as hyænas after their prey. They soon claw out the earth, pull up the covering rafters, and begin to fill their bags with the grain.—*Life*, i. p. 207.

This was the first communication that had been made to the King since the Commander-in-Chief had landed in Abyssinia.

The troops started from Yasendyè rather early on the morning of April 4th, the head of the column reaching Bêt-hor at 10 A.M., and commenced the descent of the ravine by Theodore's road, which undoubtedly saved them an amount of road-making that would have taken at least ten days or a fortnight to complete. As it was, this formidable chasm was crossed in one long and fatiguing day's march of eighteen miles. The most tedious part was the ascent on the southern side, where the gradients were tremendous, much of the road having been hewn out of the rock, or built up the sides of the gorge with earthwork. Near the foot of the scarped cliffs at the top, a bright little spring was welling out from the rock, overshadowed by old rose-trees in full bloom; a welcome sight for the parched and weary soldiers. The camp on Dalanta was pitched on a grassy plain, near water; but it was long after midnight before the rear-guard arrived. Rain commenced again, with thunder and lightning, the first we had had since crossing the Wandaj pass; and afterwards it came on every afternoon and evening, sometimes pouring very heavily, until the capture of Mágdala. There was a halt of five days on the Dalanta plateau, in order to rest and concentrate the whole force and accumulate provisions. M. Munzinger

was sent to Lij Abagâz of Dalanta and Mr. Speedy to the Galla chief of Dâunt, with the latter object; and by the 9th of April 40,000 lbs. of wheat, 30,000 of flour, and 100,000 of barley had been brought into camp by the people of Wadela, Dalanta, and Dâunt; besides what Shewell had sent up from the Takkazyè. We were now in a magnificent grain-producing region.

On the 6th the 2d Brigade arrived on Dalanta, and Major Chamberlain led the Punjab Pioneers and a wing of the Beloochees down the Beshilo ravine, to make necessary repairs on Theodore's road, and reconnoitre the valley. The position of Mágdala and its sister heights was eagerly scanned with glasses from the ridge of the plateau; but no advanced reconnoissance of any kind was attempted. In the evening a tremendous storm of rain, thunder, and lightning burst over the plateau. The water poured into the tents in rivers, and vivid flashes of forked lightning darted on to the ground in all directions. On the next evening there was a furious hail-storm, with thunder.

On the 7th a letter arrived from Imâm Ahmed, the little boy whose mother, named Mastwât, was acting as Regent of the Wallo Galla country. The letter offered assistance, and declared Theodore to be the enemy of God; but it was afterwards discovered that the lady had also been coquetting with this enemy, and had actually sent him a present of horses. She

was waiting upon events. It was, however, obviously impossible for the English to invest so extensive a position as Mágdala and its sister heights, and it was considered advisable to obtain, if possible, the co-operation of the Gallas, in whose country Mágdala was situated, and to whom it has always been an offence and a source of fear. Akbar Ali, the Muhammedan Arabic interpreter, who boasted of the rank of Hajji, was therefore sent on a mission to his co-religionists, with presents, and a request that Queen Mastwât would cause the gate of Mágdala towards the Tanta plateau to be watched, so as to prevent Theodore from escaping on that side.

On the 8th of April the two brigades encamped on the verge of the Dalanta plateau overlooking the Beshilo ravine, and in full view of the Mágdala heights. Provisions had now been collected sufficient for eleven days; and, although the inefficient arrangements of the Transport Train had prevented all the troops from coming up that Sir Robert Napier had destined for the attack, the 12th Bengal Cavalry and six companies of the 45th Regiment had arrived, the latter having marched from Mulkutto in twenty-five days. There was now a force of 3,273 men, besides the cavalry which was to be left on Dalanta, to attack Theodore's 3,000 gun-men, and helpless rabble of followers armed with spears and shields. No reconnoissance had been made beyond the Beshilo; but the Punjab Pioneers

and some Beloochees had been sent down to the banks of the river. Valuable and accurate details respecting the topography of Mágdala, and the force at the King's command, had however been obtained by M. Munzinger; and one of the former chiefs of the *amba*, named Bitwaddad Haylu, who had escaped before the arrival of Theodore, from dread of his intrigues with the King of Shoa being discovered, also furnished some information. He recommended that the place should be attacked from the side of the Tanta plateau; but it was considered that to divide the English force, by undertaking such an operation, would be unsafe. It was known that Theodore's camp, with his guns and mortars, was on the Islamgyè saddle, which is commanded by the great natural bastion of Fâla, and that Fâla was the key of the position. It was therefore determined to advance with the whole force upon Fâla, by way of the Gumbaji ridge, Aficho, and Arogyè, and to attack it on the side which appeared most accessible, after a closer examination of the ground. All preparations were completed by the night of the 9th. Captain Goodfellow, in command of the Engineers, got scaling-ladders ready, 27 feet long, made of bamboo poles from the doolies, with pick-axe handles for wrungs, to bear fourteen men; as well as powder-bags for blowing up gates or stockades. A force of water-carriers to bring up water from the Beshilo, in the event of an

insufficient quantity being found on the hills, was organized under Captain Bainbridge; and the Bengal muleteers were formed into a corps for the removal of wounded from the field.

Heavy rain fell during the afternoon of the 9th, and a grand storm was seen to burst over Mágdala; but it cleared up in the night, and a fine morning ushered in the day which was to seal the doom of Theodore, and decide the failure or success of the Abyssinian expedition.

CHAPTER X.

ACTION AT AROGYÈ—RELEASE OF THE CAPTIVES—FALL OF MÁGDALA—DEATH OF THE KING.

THE two hostile forces which during six months had been very slowly converging from Debra Tabor and the sea to the same point at Mágdala, were now nearly face to face. On that dark basaltic rock was the hunted fallen king, with only 3,000 soldiers armed with percussion guns and matchlocks, a rabble of spearmen, and a number of pieces of ordnance which his strong will had created, but which his people knew not how to use. He had overcome difficulties which would have daunted a less courageous tyrant, and had come there to die. With a well-armed and sufficiently large force his position was one of the most formidable that could have been selected, but with such troops as he had, who in opposition to the English were virtually unarmed, and with his diminished numbers, the place was quite untenable. Moreover the Abyssinians were discouraged by the ceaseless toil of the previous months, and by the harassing attacks of rebels. Those who had not deserted were ready to do so on the first

PLAN OF
MÁGDALA
and the Surrounding Country

From Surveys by Lieut. Carter R.E.

opportunity, and only a faithful few could be depended upon to stand by their brave master to the bitter end. His mighty prestige alone kept the shattered remains of his army together.

On the other hand the English were nearly equal in numbers to their enemies; they were armed and provided with all that modern science could suggest, were in a friendly country with abundant supplies, and had just completed a march in a delightful climate, with no enemy in the field.

Well might the doomed Theodore bitterly reflect that it would have been very different if they had come a few years earlier, when he was a powerful warlike sovereign at the head of a vast army, accustomed to be led to certain victory under his guidance. Then, indeed, he might have disputed the gorges of Lasta, and the ascents to Wadela and Dalanta. But now he dare not detach a man, or trust one soldier out of his sight, for fear of desertion. All he could do was to await his fate on his last hill-top. The sorely wounded, but still undaunted lion, was hunted to its lair.

Yet, though powerless to avert his own destruction, the stake for which both sides were playing was absolutely in his hands. Whether the object for which the English had undertaken the expedition should be attained or not, depended solely on the will and pleasure of Theodore, up to the very last moment.

His power might and would be destroyed, he himself might be killed, but whether the English returned with their captive countrymen, whose liberation they had been sent to effect, would still be due to the generosity, or policy, or caprice of the despairing tyrant.

At six o'clock in the morning of the 10th of April, Sir Charles Staveley commenced the descent of the Beshilo ravine with the 1st Brigade, preceded by Colonel Phayre and a small escort of the 3d Cavalry under Colonel Loch. Sir Charles was to advance along the Gumbaji spur until he had fixed upon a suitable encamping ground, and to cover a reconnoissance of the enemy's position by the Quarter-master-General. The 1st Brigade was composed as follows:—

A Battery of steel mountain guns, under Colonel Penn	86 men.
10th company of Royal Engineers	20 „
Naval Brigade	80 „
4th Regiment.	446 „
Punjab Pioneers	575 „
Wing of the Beloochees	259 „
One company of Madras Sappers	70 „
Bombay Sappers	283 „
	1,819

After crossing the Beshilo, Sir Charles Staveley avoided the Wark-waha valley, which is commanded by the heights on either side, and led the brigade up the excessively steep Gumbaji spur towards Aficho;

while Colonel Phayre proceeded up the valley by the King's road for about half a mile, and then, turning sharp to his right, ascended the hills by a most precipitous path, and gained the plateau some distance in advance of Staveley. At about 9.30 A.M. the Commander-in-Chief followed with the 2d Brigade, consisting of

B Battery of steel mountain guns, under Captain Twiss	103 men.
G 14 Battery of four Armstrong 12-pounder guns, under Captain Murray	94 „
Two mortars, under Captain Hills	27 „
33d Regiment	694 „
45th Regiment (6 companies)	325 „
10th Bombay Native Infantry	211 „
	1,454

The cavalry, under Colonel Graves of the 3d, was ordered to remain at the Beshilo, but to be ready to advance. It consisted of the

3d Bombay Cavalry	183 men.
3d Sind Horse	181 „
12th Bengal Cavalry	96 „
	460

So that the total available force in the two brigades, including cavalry, amounted to 3,733 men. The numbers of the cavalry were much reduced by detachments having been told off for depôt guards and postal duties, all along the line of march.

At noon the Head-Quarters and 2d Brigade reached

the banks of the Beshilo, where the A Battery, Naval Brigade, and baggage of the 1st Brigade were waiting for orders to advance. This was the first river we had come to, which could not be gone over dry-shod. It was a turbid, muddy stream, about up to the horses' girths at this season, and the men had to wade across. There was little room for encamping, but the tents of the Commander-in-Chief and his staff were pitched on a narrow sloping piece of ground between the rocks and the river, at the opening of the Wark-waha valley. The intention was to pass the night there, and join the 1st Brigade the next day. It was neither expected nor desired that hostilities should commence just before dark that evening.

On reaching the plateau Colonel Phayre had obtained an extensive view of the country up to the foot of the ascent to Fâla, and ascertained that the Wark-waha valley was unoccupied by the enemy. He therefore sent a message back to that effect, which was read by Sir Charles Staveley, and forwarded on to the Commander-in-Chief. On the receipt of this message,[1] Staveley advanced along the heights, and Sir Robert Napier ordered the Naval Brigade, A Battery, and the baggage to follow the King's road up the Wark-waha ravine. The Commander-in-

[1] This message, the purport of which was first grossly misrepresented, has been made the ground of several attacks upon Colonel Phayre by the newspaper correspondents, all equally unjust and indefensible.

Chief and his staff rode up to the front in the course of the afternoon, and were present at the action. Meanwhile Colonel Phayre proceeded to reconnoitre the country as far as the Arogyè plain, and the 1st Brigade, under Sir Charles Staveley, advanced along the Aficho plateau. The march that day had been very severe. Starting early in the morning, the men had gone down a descent of 3,600 feet to the Beshilo, waded across that river, and then scrambled up the steepest and most rugged ascent that had yet been met with in Abyssinia, by the Gumbaji spur to Aficho. They were now very hungry and thirsty, and much fatigued. A fall of rain, commencing later in the afternoon, increased their discomfort.

The Naval Brigade was emerging from the steep ascent which leads up from the Wark-waha valley to the Arogyè plain, followed by Colonel Penn's A Battery. The baggage mules, with a guard consisting of two companies of the 4th, and one of the 10th Native Infantry, were behind, just crossing the head of the Dam-wanz ravine. The Punjab Pioneers had been sent to protect the head of the road up which this long line of laden mules was coming. A steep descent leads from the Aficho plateau to Arogyè, and the rest of the troops were on the top of it.

In front was the lofty stronghold of Theodore, rising more than a thousand feet above the plain of Arogyè —to the left the rocky peak of Selassyè, to the right

the flat-topped hill of Fâla, the two heights being connected by a lower saddle. The sides of the ascent are furrowed with shallow gullies, and covered with low bushes. All was silent upon these anxiously-watched heights. Nothing appeared to be stirring.

It was forty-two minutes past four in the afternoon. Suddenly a gun was fired from the crest of Fâla, 1,200 feet above the Arogyè plain, then another and another, the shot plunging into the ground, and showing that the English were well within range. After a few rounds, a large force of several thousand men—the flower of the remnant of Theodore's army—poured impetuously over the crest of Fâla and the saddle, and rushed down the precipitous slopes, yelling defiance. The chiefs were mounted on sure-footed Galla ponies, and about 1,000 of the soldiers were armed with double-barrel guns, and 2,000 with matchlocks, the remainder being a mere rabble of spearmen. Soon they covered the plain of Arogyè, and began to advance across it, a large detachment rushing down the Dam-wanz ravine to attack the baggage train.

The moment the Abyssinians appeared coming down from the heights, the Blue-jackets got their rocket tubes quickly into position, and opened upon them. Sir Charles Staveley, at the same time, moved all the infantry of his brigade down the steep descent from Aficho to Arogyè. The Snider rifles kept up a fire against which no Abyssinian troops could stand.

They were mown down in lines, and unable to get within range themselves. Hope left them. Led on by their gallant old General, the Fitaurari Gabriyè, they returned again and again to the charge with great bravery. But it was like a man struggling against machinery—the most heroic courage could do nothing in the face of such vast inequality in arms. At this time a thunderstorm broke over Mágdala, and mingled its roar with the continuous rattle of the Sniders. Fitaurari Gabriyè and most of the chief officers were dead. Night was coming on. The shattered remnant made for the road up to the Fâla saddle;, but it was no flight,—they retired in good order, with their arms, and still cheering defiantly.

Meanwhile Colonel Milward, who commanded Penn's A Battery, took up a strong position on the left, and opened fire; while Chamberlain and his gallant Pioneers, who were only armed with ordinary muzzle-loaders, met the detachment of the enemy which was advancing to attack the baggage train. Here there was some real fighting, and the Abyssinians were driven with great slaughter down the side of the Dam-wanz. They, however, continued to advance with extraordinary gallantry, until they were finally checked by the baggage guard, consisting of two companies of the 4th, under Captain Roberts, who was severely wounded in the arm. They fell back. Sir Charles Staveley then reinforced Chamberlain with

two more companies of the 4th, the Abyssinians in the ravine were hemmed in both in front and on their left flank, and suffered fearfully. The ravine sides were covered with myrsine bushes, crotalarias, the labiate plant called *tchendog*, and gaunt kol-quall trees, so that the frightful havoc could not be seen at a glance. But the Dam-wanz that night was choked up with dead and dying men, and the little rill at the bottom ran with blood.

When the main body of the Abyssinian army retreated, Fellowes and his Blue-jackets took up a second position more to the front, and sent rockets into the flying crowd on the hill-side with frightful effect. He also fired at the crest of Fâla, from whence the guns of Theodore had continued to play; but just as he had got the exact range, the Naval Brigade was unfortunately ordered to cease firing. This order, as will presently be seen, probably saved Theodore's life.

The Abyssinians estimated their force at 3,000 armed with percussion guns and matchlocks, and about 1,000 spearmen. Of these from 700 to 800 were killed, 349 having been buried on the left attack alone, and 1,500 were wounded, most of them severely. Many of the survivors fled, without returning to Mágdala; and all night the Abyssinians were calling to their wounded comrades, and carrying them off the field. The English numbered close upon 2,000 men, of whom Captain Roberts and six men of

the 4th, twelve of the Punjab Pioneers, and one Bombay Sapper were wounded; two mortally, nine severely, and nine slightly. Four of the wounds inflicted on the Pioneers were from spears, which proves that the fighting was not all on one side on that part of the field.

There were 18,000 rounds of musketry fired by the English, of which 10,200 were from the Sniders of the 4th. The A Battery fired 102 rounds and 15 rockets, and the Naval Brigade 204 rockets. This action will be remembered in military history as the first in which the Snider rifle was used.

The 1st Brigade encamped on the Aïcho plateau, without fires, tents, water, or food; and the 2d Brigade, coming up from the Beshilo during the night, formed their camp on the plain of Arogyè.

Hitherto we have accompanied the English force. Let us now, with the aid of information gleaned from various quarters, glance at the progress of events from Theodore's point of view.

It appears that early on the morning of Good Friday he received intelligence that a small force, led by the English Fitaurari, was coming in advance to reconnoitre, with a train of baggage mules; and he resolved to try and cut off this small party, secure some plunder, and thus raise the spirits of his men. It has already been seen that he had planted seven guns in position on the crest of the Fâla height. The

German workmen were ordered to measure out the proper charges for each gun, and soon after Colonel Phayre appeared upon Arogyè, the King opened fire. Two charges were accidentally put into a large brass 40-pounder, which had been named Teôderos, and it burst—an evil omen in the eyes of the superstitious Abyssinians. The Abyssinian army was massed round the King, ready to rush down to the attack. He rode about amongst them, exciting them with loud and defiant boasting. "Look at those slaves!" he cried, "they are women! Look at them! they bring you clothes and riches and pay! Go down and help yourselves!" The men replied with yells and shouts. "Shall I send them down?" he said, turning to his chiefs, and then to Waldmeier. He hesitated. He felt that this was the turning point in his destiny. He ordered them down, but then he saw the English brigade descending from Aficho. He would fain have stopped his army, and he called them back, but the chiefs cried out that they would rather go on, and he replied—"Be it so; I will cover you with my cannon." They poured furiously over the craggy heights, led by the Fitaurari Gabriyè, the bravest and most trusted of the King's generals. In his early days Theodore would have gone down to lead his soldiers and fight by their sides; but now he remained to superintend the artillery, and this shows how excesses and debauchery had shattered the nerves and

altered the character of the man. He watched them with intense anxiety, and for a brief moment he seems to have dreamt of victory. But as he watched the truth dawned upon him. A rocket from the Naval Brigade hissed within a foot of him towards the close of the action, and he exclaimed, "Would that it had gone through my head!" If Fellowes had not been ordered to cease firing at that moment, in the next a volley would have been poured into the same spot, and in all human probability the King would have been killed.

As the shades of evening closed round, Theodore looked down and saw his army reeling under the deadly fire of the English troops. He walked, sad and desponding, to the foot of the Selassyè peak, and there—in the thick darkness, with claps of thunder resounding over his head—he waited for the return of his chiefs and soldiers. Then a broken remnant began to crowd about him, coming up the steep path. He called for the Fitaurari Gabriyè, his gallant old commander of the vanguard, but no answer came. He called for Balambarâs Biru, for Gabra Medhin, but no answer. He called for other chiefs, but still there was no reply. He saw it all—his army was broken and destroyed, and no hope was left but in concession to an irresistible enemy. Dark despair settled upon him. He sank down and sat pondering over his fate, his faithful body servant, Walda Gâbir, by his side. At

midnight he deputed Mr. Flad and Mr. Waldmeier to go up to Mágdala, and make proposals of peace to Mr. Rassam, confessing that, with the destruction of his army, his power was gone.

Early on Saturday morning, April 11th, he sent Lieutenant Prideaux in full uniform, and Mr. Flad, mounted on handsomely-furnished mules, and accompanied by a chief named Dadjatsh Alamè,[1] to the English camp. They were instructed to say that the King now desired to be reconciled with the English. By that time most of the tents had been brought up and were pitched, and the people were beginning to get refreshed, after the hardships of the previous night. Young Prideaux was received with tremendous cheering. The excitement was intense, and the men, crowding round the captives, accompanied them to the Commander-in-Chief's tent. But reconciliation was not possible. It is true that all that was required for the honour of England was the liberation of the captives. It might or might not be considered advisable to avenge the insult of their detention, and the reparation exacted might be heavy or slight. The exaction of such atonement was perfectly justifiable, though the honour of this country was not concerned in it. That honour would have been equally untarnished if the offence had been altogether condoned,

[1] "My world," a name given by the mother. This chief had married a daughter of Yatamanyu, the King's favourite concubine.

so long as the liberation of the captives was enforced. But there were other things to consider. The English army had been welcomed by the Abyssinians, had been allowed to march unmolested through their country, and had received all possible assistance from their rulers and chiefs, on the tacit but clearly implied understanding that Theodore's power should be destroyed, and the dreaded tyrant dethroned. No terms short of unconditional surrender could therefore be honourably offered to him.

Prideaux and Flad, with the Dadjatsh Alamè, were sent back to the King in the afternoon, with the following written reply to his verbal message:—

"Your Majesty has fought like a brave man, and has been overcome by the superior power of the British army. It is my desire that no more blood may be shed. If, therefore, your Majesty will submit to the Queen of England, and bring all the Europeans now in your Majesty's hands, and deliver them safely this day in the British camp, I guarantee honourable treatment for yourself and all the members of your Majesty's family."

It was not a pleasant service, after having once breathed the free air of the English camp, to be sent back into the power of the fierce and capricious tyrant, with such an answer as this. A service of danger without doubt. But young Prideaux went about it as coolly and quietly as if he had been going out for

a morning ride. Dadjatsh Alamè was shown the elephants and mortars. He had been in the action of the night before, and in riding over the battle-field on his return, he asked to be allowed to search for the body of his general. It was a ghastly sight. Most of the dead and dying had frightful wounds, some with half their skulls taken off. The Fitaurari Gabriyè, the gallant chief who had led the army down, was killed by a Snider rifle-bullet through his temples. We found him lying flat on his back, with his arms stretched out, and dressed in a rich shirt of crimson silk and gold. His horse was lying dead about ten paces from him. He was an elderly man with many grey hairs, and is said to have been as good as he was brave, and while ever foremost in the fight, the Fitaurari, like our English Falkland, hated war and sighed for peace.[1] Arrangements were made for sending the body up to Mágdala.

The two Envoys then rode up the steep ascent of the Fâla saddle to deliver the answer to the King. Prideaux and Flad found him sitting on a rock, on the brow of Selassyè, dictating a document to his Secretary, Alaka Engeda. When they came up he told the Secretary to fall back, while he talked with them, and had the letter from Sir Robert Napier read to him. He never understood that he was expected to surrender his own person. No man would have

[1] Statement of Mercha Warkè.

dared to tell him so. He then completed the dictation of his paper, which was not intended as a reply, having been commenced before Prideaux came up. Sir Robert Napier's letter was enclosed in the same cover with the King's document, which was without any seal or signature, and Prideaux and Flad were sent down with them to the English camp.

This document of Theodore's is most curious and interesting. His power being completely gone, owing to the destruction of his army, he had determined to end his career by destroying himself. The paper, therefore, bears the character of a sort of final manifesto. It was written, as he then believed, just before his death, and contains the inner thoughts of the man, for at such a moment there could be no motives of policy for deception or acting. It may be taken as a sort of farewell to the world. He begins by reproaching his soldiers for their flight; and then makes a touching appeal to his conqueror to protect the colony of helpless people whom he had established in the midst of heathen enemies. This strange man had, but a few days before, committed a horrible massacre; yet it is quite compatible with some phases of human nature that a being capable of such atrocities at one moment, should at another be actuated by the humane feeling expressed in his manifesto. He was a brave man, and no really brave man ever loses all traces of humanity. He attributes his defeat to want of

discipline and inferior arms; and, acknowledging the evil he has inflicted upon the people of Abyssinia, prays that God may bring good out of it. Finally, he declares his determination never to surrender himself a prisoner.

The following is a translation of this remarkable document:—

"In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, one Lord.[1]

"Kâsa, whose trust is in Christ, thus speaks:

"O people of Abyssinia! will it always be thus that you flee before the enemy when I myself, by the power of God, go not forth with you to encourage you?

"Believing that all power had been given to me, I had established my Christian people in this heathen spot. In my city are multitudes whom I had fed—maidens protected and maidens unprotected; women whom yesterday made widows, and aged parents who have no children. God has given you the power. See that you forsake not these people. It is a heathen land.

"My countrymen have turned their backs on me and have hated me, because I imposed tribute on them, and sought to bring them under military discipline. You have prevailed against me by means of people brought into a state of discipline.

"My followers, who loved me, were frightened by

[1] This sentence is incorrectly given in the Blue Book.

one bullet, and fled in spite of my commands. When you defeated them, I was not with the fugitives.

"Believing myself to be a great lord, I gave you battle; but, by reason of the worthlessness of my artillery, all my pains were as nought.

"The people of my country, by taunting me with having embraced the religion of the Franks, and by saying that I had become a Mussulman, and in ten different ways, had provoked me to anger against them. Out of what I have done of evil towards them may God bring good. His will be done. I had intended, if God had so decreed, to conquer the whole world; and it was my desire to die if my purpose could not be fulfilled. Since the day of my birth till now no man has dared to lay hands on me. Whenever my soldiers began to waver in battle, it was mine to arise and rally them. Last night the darkness hindered me from doing so.

"You people, who have passed the night in joy, may God do unto you as He has done to me. I had hoped, after subduing all my enemies in Abyssinia, to lead my army against Jerusalem, and expel from it the Turks. A warrior who has dandled strong men in his arms like infants will never suffer himself to be dandled in the arms of others."

After the departure of the messengers, the fallen King sat for a long time, in the open air, without

speaking. He told his people to walk away to a distance. He then said a prayer, and bowed three times with his face to the ground, and afterwards drank some water. Suddenly he pulled a pistol out of his belt, and put it in his mouth. The soldiers ran up, clasped him round the waist, pulled back his arm, and the pistol went off, grazing his ear. It was all done in a second. Theodore struggled, and for a minute or two the King of Kings was rolling on the ground with his soldiers in a confused heap. He freed himself, composed his mind, and abandoned the idea of self-destruction for the time. It was not God's will, he said. Then he seems to have turned his thoughts to the settlement of his affairs, and he sent to his long-neglected wife and queen, the proud Terunesh, desiring her to come to him, to his tent on Islamgyè.

He had but a short time to arrange the affairs of his family. His domestic life had not been happy of late years, and its course may be described in few words. Since his separation from the Queen, who had now been for some years at Mágdala with her little boy Alam-ayahu,[1] Theodore had led a disgracefully irregular life at Debra Tabor; and his favourite concubine, a fat Yadjow Galla woman, named Yatamanyu, had been living for some time with the Queen at Mágdala, and receiving almost daily letters from her absent lord.

[1] Literally, "I have seen the world."

The time for oblivion had now arrived. It is certain that Theodore and his wife Terunesh passed some time together on that Saturday afternoon. It is to be hoped that they were reconciled; and, as we shall see presently, he expressed a last wish, which she afterwards repeated. Theodore had five illegitimate children,—a son named Mashesha, now about twenty years of age, another son much younger, and three daughters.

Having resolved to live, Theodore conceived the hope of obtaining peace by releasing his captives. He held a council of his chiefs, and the bravest and most faithful—Râs Engeda,[1] the trusted minister; Dadjatsh Abûyé, a grey-headed old chief of the Amba; Engeda Wark; and Asalafee[2] Kantiba—strongly advised him to kill the prisoners, and fight to the last. One alone, named Basha Abito, said that the English had come all this way for their countrymen, that the captives were of no use, and that a terrible vengeance would be exacted if they were killed.

Their lives now hung on a thread. The success or utter failure of the Expedition depended solely on the decision of the excited and despairing King. His failure to destroy himself, and consequent newly-aroused hope of peace, alone saved them. He sent Bitwaddad[3] Hassanè, the Governor of Mágdala, and

[1] Engeda means a stranger.

[2] Asalafee, a cup-bearer.

[3] Ludolph, on the authority of Gregory, spells it *Bahtu-dadj*, and gives as its meaning, "the door of him alone;" *i.e.* "to him alone is the king's

Râs Bisawur to Mr. Rassam and the other prisoners, with the following message:—"Go at once to your people: you can send for your property to-morrow."[1] The King had an interview with Rassam, and then sent them all down to the English camp, accompanied by four of the German workmen. With the exception of the leg-irons, he had always treated Rassam with marked kindness, and he seems really to have had a liking for him. The German artisans, too, although they had been expected to work hard, had received many presents and acts of kindness at his hands. By sending all down to the English camp, without reserve and without condition, he expected, no doubt, that they would secure him acceptable terms. Death was to him far preferable to the degradation of surrendering his own person.

The five Europeans who had attempted to escape, Mrs. Flad and her children, Bardel, Bender, several other Europeans and all their wives and children, except Mrs. Rosenthal, still remained in his power.

Meanwhile Prideaux and Flad brought down the manifesto which the King had dictated before he

door open." Isenberg gives the spelling as in the text. An Abyssinian, who bore the title himself, told Lieut. Prideaux that it signified *Yabêt-wadâdj*, "the friend of the house." It was a title given by Theodore to officers ranking next below a Râs, and above a Dadjâzmâtsh.

[1] Dr. Blanc's Narrative, p. 400, where will be found a most interesting account of the release of the captives, and of their march down from Mágdala, and past the King.

made the attempt to destroy himself. Sir Robert Napier ordered them to return, and to inform Theodore that no further communications could be received from him until he had complied with the demand made in the morning. Sir Robert Napier believed that he was sending young Prideaux back to almost certain death, with a message which merely reiterated the contents of his letter. Luckily Prideaux and Flad, on their way back, met one of the German workmen, named Meyer, who brought the news that all the captives had been released, and the envoys therefore returned to the camp. It was quite dark before the captives arrived. The excitement was very great, and a crowd stood round Sir Robert Napier's tent when the liberated prisoners were presented to him. There were Mr. Rassam, Dr. Blanc, and Lieut. Prideaux, all in full uniform; Consul Cameron, broken down by four years of painful captivity; Mr. Stern, the intrepid missionary; Mr. Flad; Mr. and Mrs. Rosenthal; young 'Kerans; and Pietro, the Italian. They were escorted by four of the King's European workmen—Meyer, Waldmeier, Saalmüller, and Moritz Hall; and by Ayto Samuel and the Dadjatsh Alamè.

The liberated captives received a warm welcome in the camp. Rassam, Blanc, and Prideaux shared the hospitality of the tent of General Merewether, who had, from the very first, been the tried and true

friend of the prisoners. He and M. Munzinger had sent them money, and supplies, and newspapers by every possible opportunity, and had watched over their interests with unremitting attention. Even now, in spite of the cutting down of the luggage, Merewether had managed to bring up half-a-dozen of champagne, which he was determined they should drink on the day of their release, and they did. These officers had, throughout their difficult and hazardous mission, behaved with prudence, courage, and dignity. They were the only officers in the campaign who had been exposed to any real danger, and, in the *Gazette* which announced the honours and promotions for Abyssinian service, their names were absent.

Early on Sunday morning the King's Secretary, and one of the German workmen named Bender, came down with a letter from the King, written with the evident intention of softening the impression which he believed must have been caused by his previous defiant manifesto, and offering a present which, if accepted, would have been a token of peace being established without further concessions on his part. The translated text of this letter, which is duly sealed with the royal seal, is as follows:—

"In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, one Lord:

"The King of Kings Teôderos:

"May it reach the beloved servant of the great Queen of England.

"I am writing to you, without being able to address you by name, because our intercourse has arisen so unexpectedly.

"I am grieved at having sent you my writing of yesterday, and at having quarrelled with you, my friend. When I saw your manner of fighting, and the discipline of your army, and when my people failed to execute my orders, then I was consumed with sorrow to think that, although I killed and punished my soldiers, yet they would not return to the battle. Whilst the fire of jealousy burned within me, Satan came to me in the night, and tempted me to kill myself with my own pistol. But, reflecting that God would be angry with me if I were to go in this manner, and leave my army without a protector, I sent to you in a hurry, lest I might die, and all things be in confusion before my message should reach you. After my messenger had gone, I cocked my pistol, and, putting it in my mouth, pulled the trigger. Though I pulled and pulled, yet it would not go off. But when my people rushed upon me, and laid hold of the pistol, it was discharged, just as they had drawn it from my mouth. God having thus signified to me that I should not die but live, I sent to you Mr. Rassam that same evening, that your heart might be made easy.

"To-day is Easter: be pleased to let me send a few cows to you.[1]

"The reason of my returning to you your letter yesterday, was that I believed at that time that we should meet one another in heaven, but never on earth.

"I let the night pass without sending for the body of my friend Fitaurari Gabriyè, because I thought that after my death we should both be buried together; but since I have lived, be pleased to allow him to be buried.

"You require from me all the Europeans, even to my best friend Waldmeier. Well, be it so. They shall go. But now that we are friends you must not leave me without artisans, as I am a lover of the mechanical arts."

The King evidently hoped that not only his present of cows would be accepted, which, according to Eastern custom, would imply the establishment of peace; but also that he would eventually obtain help from the English, in the shape at least of skilled artisans.

Ayto Samuel translated the letter from Amharic into Arabic, and Mr. Rassam rendered it from Arabic

[1] According to another version, this sentence ran thus: "This being the Easter festival, I hope I may send 1,000 cows and 500 sheep, as a breakfast for the troops."

into English, for the information of Sir Robert Napier.

The Commander-in-Chief has publicly stated that he "authorized nothing that could have led Theodore to believe that he would accept one jot less than the terms of his first demand;"[1] but, when Mr. Rassam inquired what answer was to be given to the King's letter, he understood Sir Robert Napier to say that he would accept the present. Sir Robert determined not to send a letter at that time,[2] but to transmit his reply verbally, and Ayto Samuel carried back his verbal answer. Mr. Rassam instructed Samuel to inform the King that the English General had accepted his present of cows. The German workmen, who had passed the night in the camp, went back with Sir Robert's messenger, to ask for their wives and families, and a dhoolee was sent up to bring down Mrs. Flad and her children.

As soon as this party reached the presence of the King, on Selassyè, he turned eagerly to Samuel and asked whether his present had been accepted. Samuel bowed respectfully, and said, "The English Râs says to you, 'I have accepted your present: may God give

[1] Speech of Lord Napier at Welshpool.

[2] Dadjatsh Alamé remained in the camp, and the intention was to send him back with a letter to the King, as soon as all the Europeans had come down with their families. This letter was prepared, but never sent. It informed Theodore that his present was only provisionally accepted, on condition that he gave himself up, as well as all the Europeans.

it back to you.'"[1] Theodore heaved a long sigh of relief. He believed that peace was granted without further concessions, that the deadly peril was over, and that he was safe. Turning to the Germans, he told them that they might all go down with their wives and families and property, for that now he was friends with the English, and could get as good workmen as they were. He sent down the present, consisting of 1,000 cows and 500 sheep, being all the live stock in his possession; and in the course of the afternoon the whole of the Europeans and half-castes, with their families and baggage, arrived in the English camp.[2] The King bade them

[1] Blanc's Narrative, p. 406.

[2] The complete list of Europeans, Indians, half-castes, their wives and children, who were surrendered by Theodore, is as follows:—

Consul Cameron, and one Portuguese servant	2
Mr. Rassam, one Portuguese and two Indian Mussulman servants	4
Dr. Blanc, and two Portuguese servants	3
Lieutenant Prideaux	1
Rev. Mr. Rosenthal, wife and child	3
Rev. Mr. Stern	1
Mr. Kerans	1
David Pietro (formerly Consul Cameron's servant) and half-caste child	2
Richard McKilvie	1
Mr. Flad, wife and three children	5
Mr. Bender, wife (*née* Miss Schimper) and three children	5
Widow of Mr. Keinzlin (*née* Miss Schimper)	1
Mr. Waldmeier, wife (*née* Miss Bell) and child	3
Alegaz Bell	1
Carried forward	33

farewell in good spirits. Samuel was one of the last to go down with Dr. Blanc's two Portuguese servants, at about five P.M., and at that time Theodore was still cheerful, and under the belief that peace was established. Never was a surrender, when once resolved upon, so freely and unreservedly made. Not a hostage, not a child, not a box was kept back. It was the act of a king, an act without cunning or treachery, how slight soever, to mar its fulness. During the day the guns were removed from Fâla to Islamgyè, where the rest of the artillery was in park.[1]

But in the evening, soon after Samuel's departure, Theodore received a message from Agafâri Mashesha,[2]

Brought forward	33
Mr. Meyer, wife and three children	5
Mr. Saalmüller, wife (*née* Miss Bell) and child . .	3
Miss Louisa Bell	1
Mr. Moritz Hall, wife and two children	4
M. Bourgaud, wife and five children	7
Mr. Zander, wife and four children	6
Dr. Schimper, son and daughter	3
Mr. Mackerer	1
Mr. Brandeis	1
Mr. Staiger	1
Mr. Schiller	1
Mr. Essler	1
	67

[1] The account of the events of Sunday given in a printed statement by Walda Gâbir, is incorrect and confused. The printed account is also quite different from another account of the same events, which he gave some weeks before. He was in Mágdala most of that day, and was not present at the interview between the King and Sir R. Napier's messenger.

[2] This chief was Theodore's head executioner. *Agafâri* means a gatekeeper.

the chief whom he had sent down with the presents, to the effect that the cows had been stopped at the first piquet, and had not been admitted into the camp. It must have struck him at once that he had been deceived, that he had been led by Sir Robert Napier's messenger, instructed by his interpreter, to believe that his present was accepted, while in reality he was about to be attacked. As evening closed upon him despair must have come with it. He seems to have walked about on Selassyè during the greater part of the night, and afterwards to have rested for a short time on Islamgyè, near the ascent to Mágdala, under a *shama* supported on spears stuck in the ground.

At dawn he arose, and thus addressed his people: "Warriors who love me, gird yourselves, leave all behind, take nothing but arms, and follow me. The time has come to seek another home." He then went up into Mágdala, and began to descend the precipitous sides of the *amba*, near the Kaffir-bir gate, followed by four chiefs and some soldiers. As he went down he asked for the advanced guard, and was told they were in the rear. They were ordered to the front, but refused, saying that they would never flee before an enemy again, and would rather seek death in Mágdala. Theodore reflected for a short time, then said, "Be it so," and reascended the mountain. He again went down to Islamgyè, and told all the soldiers who were

not prepared to share his fortunes to the last, to provide for their own safety. The whole army immediately disbanded and stood about in groups on the Selassyè peak. A few chiefs and personal followers alone answered his call, and he remained with them on Islamgyè, at the place where he had rested during the latter part of the night. At about nine in the forenoon the King looked up, and saw a dark halo round the sun, about 15° in radius, like a huge brown plaster. He remarked that it was an omen of bloodshed.

When Theodore and his few followers attempted to escape from Mágdala early in the morning, several chiefs came down to the English camp with a report that the King had fled, and proposing to lay down their arms and surrender the *amba*. A notice was then sent among the Gallas, offering a reward for the capture of the King, and during the forenoon the two brigades marched up the steep and difficult road to the crest of the saddle between Fâla and Islamgyè. This was on Easter Monday. The 10th Bombay Native Infantry and Beloochees, under Colonel Field, occupied the Fâla plateau, while the English regiments took possession of Selassyè. There was no opposition whatever. Immense crowds covered all the heights, and those who were armed were made to lay down their guns, spears, and shields in heaps, which were placed under sentries. Women were collecting and packing up their goods, in the

little temporary bowers that form an Abyssinian camp, and long strings of people, with laden mules and donkeys, were winding their way down the hill-sides to Arogyè—rats deserting the sinking ship. The small escort of 3d Cavalry, under Colonel Loch, was the first to reach the Islamgyè saddle, where Theodore's camp had been. It was covered with the bowers and huts of the soldiers, and here also were the greater number of the guns with their ammunition. Some of them were turned round upon Mágdala, loaded, and fired by Mr. Speedy and others who followed Colonel Loch, as a piece of fun. At this time a number of chiefs, richly dressed, were seen galloping wildly to and fro, and firing off their rifles, at the other end of Islamgyè. Soon afterwards they rode up the steep ascent into Mágdala, and closed the Koket-bir gate. M. Munzinger, at this time, received authentic information from Mahdera-kâl, an Abyssinian who was educated in France, that the King was actually in Mágdala with a few followers, and that he had not fled.

It was therefore thought necessary to cannonade Mágdala with all the artillery at Sir Robert Napier's disposal.[1] The twelve steel 7-pounders and four rocket tubes were placed across the saddle of Islamgyè,

[1] Four 12-pounder Armstrong guns, two 8-inch mortars, twelve 7-pounder steel mountain guns, four rocket-tubes belonging to the steel batteries, and twelve rocket-tubes of the Naval Brigade.

at a distance of 1,300 yards from the Koket-bir gate of Mágdala; and during the afternoon their fire was directed against the gate, the shells bursting on the rocks and in the huts all round it. The Armstrong guns and mortars, which had been brought up on elephants, with the rockets of the Naval Brigade, were in a position on the Fâla saddle, with a range of 2,400 yards; and at 1.57 P.M. the batteries opened fire. The *amba* of Mágdala was covered with huts, containing about 3,000 women, children, and prisoners; and at the gate were the King himself and a few followers. The very long range rendered the practice of the Armstrong guns very uncertain, but one shell burst close by the Ikka-bêt or Treasury, and two others in the court of the King's house, killing two servant girls, and wounding a lady and three children.

At four in the afternoon a storming party, consisting of the 33d Regiment led by Major Cooper, the 10th Company of Royal Engineers, and a company of Madras Sappers, was ordered to assault the Koket-bir gate. At that moment a heavy storm of thunder and rain burst over Mágdala. The ascent from Islamgyè to the *amba* is by an excessively steep and narrow path, covered with large boulders of rock, with perpendicular black cliffs of columnar basalt on the right hand. The path leads up to a roofed stone gateway, fifteen feet deep, with folding wooden doors, called the Koket-bir. On either side of the gateway the approach is defended

by a thick hedge with stakes. Within the Koket-bir there is a rapid ascent of seventy feet to a second hedge on the crest of the plateau; and a narrow path leads over rocks, with a scarped cliff on the left hand, to a second gate which opens on the flat summit of the *amba*. The long line of red coats streamed up the rocky path, keeping up a rapid fire with their Sniders on the hedge above them, and on the Koket-bir, whence a feeble dropping fire was returned. Seven men were wounded,[1] and there were eight scratches from splinters. On reaching the doors it was found that the powder bags and axes had been forgotten, and it was impossible to force them, owing to the pile of large stones heaped up behind. The 33d, therefore, made a dash at the hedge, climbed over it, opened the doors from inside, and the rest of the storming party streamed in. But where was the enemy? One aged chief had his brains blown out as the soldiers entered. Three other bodies of chiefs dead and dying, richly dressed, were lying in a heap just inside the gate. The English soldiers rushed up through the second gate, waved the Union Jack from the crest of the *amba* at 4.15 P.M., and Mágdala had fallen!

When the King was deserted by the army, he attempted, with the aid of his few remaining followers,

[1] Four severe gun-shot wounds, two slight gun-shot wounds, and a slight spear wound.

to haul two guns up into Mágdala. But it was too late. Deceived by the messenger sent by Sir Robert Napier with a verbal answer to his letter, into the belief that peace was established, he had neglected all preparations for defence during Sunday; and the early part of Monday morning was wasted in the futile attempt at escape. But, during the last few hours of his life, Theodore's early prowess and gallantry appear to have returned to him. There was nothing left to him but to die like a hero, and this he resolved to do, surrounded by a faithful few who were ready to end their lives with him. They had shared his early successes, had been led by him to a thousand victories, and were now prepared to die fighting by his side. The names of these few gallant and true men deserve to be recorded.

There were Râs Engeda, the King's chief minister and adviser, a native of Agowmeder, of good family and in the prime of life, who had been brought up by Theodore at Tchenkar, in Dembea, the same school where he himself had been educated; Râs Engeda's brother; Râs Tsaga,[1] commander of the gunners; Bitwaddad Bakal, a chief of Mágdala; Engeda Wark, a gunner, son of Aba Meerza, a Bengal Jew in Theodore's service, in command of Amba Geshen; Râs Barakû of Godjam; Basha Engeda; Râs Bisawur, the ex-governor of Mágdala; Bitwaddad Damâsh of

[1] Literally, "grace," or "favour." See note [1] at page 17.

Kuara, a man of base origin raised by the King; Bitwaddad Bahrî, in charge of the Treasury, a man of good family from Agowmeder; Asalâfee Kantibâ; Dadjatsh Abûyè, an old grey-headed chief of Mágdala, and a capital horseman; Agafâri Mashesha, the executioner; Bitwaddad Hassané, the Governor of Mágdala; Amanyi, the King's gun-bearer; and Walda Gâbir, his body servant. The latter is a native of Adowa, a tall, very black, intelligent-looking man. He had formerly been servant to M. Barroni (who acted as consul for Mr. Plowden during his absence from Massowa), but had, for the last five years, been the King's valet, and seldom left his side. He speaks Arabic tolerably, as well as Amharic. A few soldiers also remained with the King at first.

While the two guns were being hauled up, at about 11 A.M., Colonel Loch and the escort of 3d Cavalry emerged on the further end of the Islamgyè saddle. Dadjatsh Abûyè then seized his spear, mounted his horse, and galloped forward, careering about in front of the enemy, at about 300 yards' distance. At first the King remained on foot, superintending the transport of the guns, but suddenly his eyes fired up, and he called for his favourite bay horse *Hamra*, and for his rifle sent him by M. Barroni, called the "elephant rifle." His friends asked him not to endanger his life; but he replied that he could not do better than die then and there. Six chiefs mounted at the same time.

Theodore galloped furiously up and down, and in circles, firing off his rifle as a challenge; but no one came forward to fight him. Next to the Wakshûm Teferrî, whom he had immured in Mágdala, the King was the best horseman, the best spearman, and the best shot in Abyssinia. Now for the last time he could display these qualities; and probably he then experienced a few short minutes of enjoyment for the last time in his life. He had barely four hours to live. More troops came up and opened fire, and at last he retreated up into Mágdala, followed by the faithful few, and necessarily abandoning the two guns. After closing the doors of the Koket-bir, they set to work piling large stones against the inside, Theodore and Râs Engeda setting the example. They then passed a weary time awaiting their fate, while the English were honouring them with a cannonade. The King was dressed in a magnificent *kinkob*, or shirt of gold and silk, with a lion-skin *lemd* or tippet, and a belt containing sword and pistols. He took his seat on the rocks, between the first and second gates, surrounded by his friends, and watched the English guns with his glass. A shell burst a few feet above his head and killed two cows. He then changed his dress, believing that he made a conspicuous mark, and during the brief remainder of his life he had on a pair of cotton drawers, a fine muslin shirt, and a white *shama*, with a pistol-belt round his waist. He

continued to watch the guns with his glass, ducking his head when he saw the flash and smoke. Soon his friends began to fall around him. His faithful minister, Râs Engeda, and his brother, were killed by one shell. Râs Engeda had sent his three little sons out of the *amba* for safety—fine young fellows, between twelve and fourteen, who stood amongst the English troops on Selassyè, crying bitterly at the thought of their father's danger, and offering drinks of *tej* to the men if they would leave off firing.

When the firing began to get hot some of the chiefs and nearly all the soldiers deserted, and took refuge among the huts on Mágdala. The chiefs who retired were Bitwaddad Hassané, Engeda Wark, and Agafâri Mashesha. Thus, when the assault commenced, and King Theodore came down into the Koket-bir to fire upon the overwhelming numbers of his assailants, many of his own little band were missing. The defenders of Mágdala numbered about ten men, including Theodore himself. Basha Engeda and the gun-bearer Amanyi were killed as they went down into the gateway. Walda Gâbir, therefore, loaded the rifles and handed them to the King, who fired through badly-constructed loop-holes in the wall. The others also kept up a feeble fire. When the English soldiers climbed over the hedge, and poured a volley into the heroic little band, most of the survivors were wounded. The bodies of the dying chiefs had, by the King's

order, been brought down from the rocks, and placed in a corner of the gateway as the most sheltered spot. Even in this supreme moment of danger, Theodore took thought of his faithful comrades in arms. Bitwaddad Bakal, an old man, was seized, and afterwards half his head was blown out. His body was inside the gateway, by that of Râs Engeda, and he was still groaning in agony when we passed through. The rest fled up through the second gate, the King being last. He threw his arms in the air as a gesture of defiance from behind the last rock; and he was so placed as to look, from below, as if he was in a pulpit. Râs Barakû, Bitwaddad Damâsh, Bitwaddad Bahrî, and Asalâfee Kantibâ were all wounded, the latter mortally. The King, Râs Tsaga, Râs Bisawur, Dadjatsh Abûyè, and Walda Gâbir were not touched. Another chief, named Basha Negûsyé, was killed at the door of his house, which was situated between the two gates, as the troops came in. He had been a good friend to the captives, and was a sincere Christian.

The English soldiers were now swarming through the Koket-bir. Theodore reached some huts on the *amba*, about fifty yards from the second gate. Here he dismissed all his surviving followers, except his faithful valet Walda Gâbir, telling them to leave him and save their own lives. "Flee," he said, "I release you from your allegiance; as for me, I shall never fall into the hands of the enemy." As soon as they were

gone, he turned to Walda Gâbir and said: "It is finished! Sooner than fall into their hands, I will kill myself." He put a pistol into his mouth, fired it, and fell dead; the ball passing through the roof of the mouth and out at the back of the head. This was, as nearly as possible, at ten minutes past four in the afternoon. The English soldiers were then running up between the first and second gates. Walda Gâbir took the belt and *shama*, and, with fifteen comrades, ran across Mágdala and out at the Kaffir-bir gate, but the fugitives were confronted by some Galla thieves, so they hid in a cave, and returned into Mágdala the next day.[1]

Even before the catastrophe, the old Afa Negûs,[2] a chief who had been ordered to guard the political prisoners, was overpowered and pushed aside. The captives broke out of their prisons, and came down the road clanking their irons. At this moment Sir Charles Staveley came through the second gate,

[1] Two days afterwards Walda Gâbir made a full statement of all that took place during the last week of Theodore's life in my presence, through Mr. Rassam, and I took it down at the time. It appears that he made a second statement before Mr. Speedy and Lieutenant Tweedie, the Political Secretary, on the 30th of April, which has been printed. The two differ so materially, that his evidence can only be taken with much reserve, and on important points it is worthless. He was anxious to say exactly what he thought would best please his examiners, and, by putting leading questions, he might be made to say anything. I have only used his testimony when it was corroborated by Gabra Maskal, a soldier formerly in Theodore's service, and afterwards my servant, or by some other independent witness.

[2] "King's mouth-piece."

and a man ran up to him saying that all the prisoners were declaring that a dead body lying near was that of the King. The body was put into a litter and brought to Sir Charles, and the prisoners, first glancing at the face, and then taking up one hand and looking at a finger that had been broken,[1] one and all exclaimed "Teôderos!" Sir Charles walked on, and a crowd came round the body, gave three cheers over it, as if it had been that of a dead fox, and then began to cut and tear the clothes to pieces until it was nearly naked. The days of chivalry are gone!

The body was excessively emaciated, and it appears that Theodore had fasted for four days before his death, supporting himself on *tej* and drams of *araki*. The body was that of a man of medium stature, well built, with broad chest, small waist, and muscular limbs. The hair was much dishevelled, crisp and coarse, and done in three plaits, with little stumpy tails. But it had evidently not been dressed or buttered for days. The complexion was dark for an Abyssinian, but the features showed no trace of negro blood. The eyebrows had a peculiar curve downwards and over the nose, and there was a deep-curved furrow in the centre of the forehead. The nose was aquiline and finely cut, with a low bridge; the lips very thin and cruel; the face, though thin, rather round than oval. The once changeful eyes had lost their meaning

[1] From a gun-shot wound received in Godjam when quite a young man.

—one closed, the other staring. The scanty beard and moustache contained many grey hairs. Theodore was in his fiftieth year, and in the fifteenth of his reign. The body was eventually taken to the hut of the Italian Pietro, in the English prisoners' compound, to be prepared by the priests for interment.

Thus ended the career of the most remarkable man that has arisen in Africa within the present century. His misdeeds had been numerous, his cruelties horrible; but he was not without great and noble qualities. He was a grand, not a contemptible tyrant. He feared no man. His greatest and most powerful enemies were, as a rule, not put to death when they fell into his hands. His indomitable energy and perseverance, his military skill, and his dauntless courage command respect, while his cruelties are execrated. He preferred death to lingering out a contemptible existence after his true career was over, and he died like a hero.

"Oportet Imperatorem stantem mori."

CHAPTER XI.

Description of Mágdala—Burial of Theodore—Arrangements with his Queen and Chiefs—Liberation of the captive Chiefs—Exodus of the King's followers—Destruction of Mágdala—The Galla Queens—Capture of Mashesha—Aficho Camp—Commencement of the Return March—Work of the Troops in the Rear—Railway—Roads—Indian Cavalry—Conduct of Walda Yasoos—Return March—Death of the Queen—Kâsa—Wakshûm Gobazyé—Death of Mr. Dufton—Arrangements for Embarkation—Conclusion.

MÁGDALA is a plateau a little less than a mile long by half a mile across, with perpendicular sides of columnar basalt, and about 9,050 feet above the sea. It is approached from the west by the Koket-bir gate, and on the east by the Kaffir-bir. The *ambà* was almost covered with well-built circular thatched huts of various sizes, many of them surrounded by a hedge or wall. There is a very large open space, a sort of *place d'armes*, near the centre of the plateau. After passing through the second gate at the Koket-bir, there was a street of small huts, used as prisons, which led to the open space. On the west side of this *place d'armes* was the hedge enclosing the quarters of the English captives, and farther to the north-west was the King's house, with its outlying buildings.

The approach to the little space in which our countrymen were confined for nearly two years, was by a sort of street, with huts on either side, where they took such exercise as their chains rendered possible; but at the farthest end was the largest hut of all, almost attaining to the dignity of a house. It was approached by a pretty verandah, overgrown with tomatoes, shading a lane neatly paved with flag-stones, but all on a very miniature scale. The walls were whitewashed, the roof well thatched, and the interior consisted of a large circular room, with small square windows, and an inner room beyond. A bedstead, table, chairs, and rugs composed the furniture. This was the house of Mr. Rassam. To the left was a small hut, not so well built, but on the same plan, with a small garden in front, due to the thoughtful kindness of General Merewether in sending up seeds. This hut was shared by Dr. Blanc and Lieutenant Prideaux. Behind it was the hut occupied by Ayto Samuel, the Baldaraba, and his family; and the huts of Consul Cameron, and the other captives, small and comfortless, lined the little street. The captives had many servants, who brought their water and marketings from Islamgyè, baked excellent bread in clay ovens, and brewed delicious *tej* or mead. But there was no view beyond the dry-hedge enclosing the huts, and it must have been depressingly dull.

The King's house, where the Queen Terunesh dwelt

with her little boy, was an oblong building of two stories. The ground-floor was used as a granary, and was full of grain (*Poa Abyssinica*), and a staircase outside the building led to a large upper room, supported by pillars down the centre, which had been used as a sleeping apartment. By the side of this large building there were two *elfinès* or circular houses, for the use of female attendants. A row of wooden pillars supported the roof, and between every two pillars there were wooden bedsteads, with a tumbler and decanter in neat baskets, and a small bow for carding wool, hanging on the wall at each bed head. Another large building was used as a cellar, and was filled with huge jars, once containing excellent *tej*, but which were emptied by the English troops at a very early period of the occupation. On the wall of the north-west corner of the enclosure a flight of steps led up to a little look-out chamber, commanding a glorious view of the Mênchura gorge, from a point almost overhanging the perpendicular black cliffs of the *amba*. These buildings composed what was called the "King's House" (*Bêt Negûs*), or more properly the Queen's House, for Theodore was too fond of camp-life ever to endure the confined air of an Abyssinian hut, and always lived in a tent.

On the opposite side of the open square were the treasury, the granaries, and the church dedicated to the Saviour of the World (*Medhani-Alam*). The

treasury consisted of a number of small huts surrounded by a wall, and was the receptacle of all the property and plunder collected by the King. Here were ecclesiastical crowns, chalices, silver and bronze crosses, censers, silks, velvets, and carpets, besides tons of Geez and Amharic manuscript books. There were also arms of every description—spears and swords, gold and silver shields, silver kettledrums, and many thousands of guns and pistols, some of them old and very curious. The most interesting relic was a golden chalice brought from Gondar, with an Amharic inscription, setting forth that it was made for the Negûs Adamâs Segged,[1] in the sixteenth century. The church was a wretched place, without pictures or even whitewashed walls, with no proper furniture, and no clump of trees in the compound, merely a rude *tabot* and a surrounding cloister. Indeed, Mágdala was not looked upon as Christian ground, and the bodies of those of high rank who died there were deposited in small huts in the enclosure surrounding the church, with a view to their being removed to the precincts of a church on Christian land, when opportunity offered. Thus the body of the unfortunate Abûna Salama was placed in a large box in one of these huts, clothed in his rich canonicals; and the box was broken open, and the body desecrated, on the night of the capture of Mágdala. Towards the north-

[1] See page 33, note [1].

east corner of the *amba*, on rather higher ground, there were some tall trees, near which was the house where the Abûna was confined; and at the eastern end there were many huts of soldiers, stationed there to resist attacks on the Kaffir-bir by the Gallas. The chiefs and their families lived in huts like that of Mr. Rassam, and the other buildings were occupied by prisoners and the families of soldiers. Altogether Mágdala was far and away the largest town we had seen in Abyssinia. Its permanent population was about 3,000 souls.

After the capture, the troops dispersed over the *amba* in search of plunder. The treasury was soon entirely rifled, and the inhabitants were ordered to assemble on the great open space, where they erected temporary huts. The place was garrisoned by the 33d and 45th, and sentries were stationed at the gates to prevent plunder from being taken down to the camp, it having been determined that it should all be reclaimed, and eventually sold as prize for the troops.

The destruction of Theodore's power entailed grave responsibilities on his conquerors. The fortress of Mágdala was in the midst of a hostile Galla country, and it was necessary to provide for the departure and safe conduct of the immense unarmed multitude, now without a leader, which had congregated from all parts of Abyssinia round the court of the great King.

There were arrangements to be made respecting Theodore's family, his chiefs, his political prisoners, his disarmed soldiers and their families, and as to the disposal of the guns and plunder, as well as of the fortress itself. On the morning after the capture, April 14th, General Merewether went up to Mágdala, as political officer, to make all the numerous arrangements which had become necessary. In passing along the saddle of Islamgyè, it was only necessary to step a few paces to the right and look over the precipice, to see a spectacle of horror such as brought to mind some of Gustave Doré's illustrations of Dante. It was here that the victims of Theodore's massacre were hurled over the cliffs on the 9th, so that, although this was only one, and far from the worst of the tyrant's acts of wholesale cruelty, it impressed the imagination from being actually under our own eyes.

The body of Theodore had been removed to the hut of Pietro, in the compound of the English captives, and the Queen was asked whether she wished her husband to be buried with all due honour, or to be made over to herself for interment as she might direct. She decided that the body should be quietly buried by Abyssinian priests. Dr. Lumsdaine examined it, in the presence of Ayto Samuel and Dr. Blanc, and found that there was a gun-shot wound at the back of the head, the inside of the mouth

was blackened and scorched, the palate blown away, and a probe passed in at the mouth came out at the back of the head. An examination of the wound showed that death was self-inflicted. The body was then wrapped first in a fine cotton cloth, then in a rich gold and silken *kinkob*, and lastly in a coarse cloth. A grave was dug in the outer cloister of the church, but the tools were inefficient, the ground being hard, and the grave was very shallow. All the chiefs had permission to attend their old master to his last resting-place, but only a very few came, and the body was carried on an old *álga*, or bedstead, from the hut to the church. There was a small guard of the 33d to keep order, and the great King's body was placed in the grave, the stones were filled in, and the surface strewn with straw, without any ceremony. Then the priests muttered some prayers, while the few mourners stood round them. It was a bleak, chilly afternoon, and an hour or two before a hail-storm had swept over the fortress.

The Queen Terunesh, after the capture of Mágdala, had been given in charge of Mr. Rassam, with her little boy, and had taken refuge in his hut. A sentry was placed at the door, but nevertheless some soldiers were allowed to get in and grossly insult her. Luckily Mr. Rassam and an English officer came in time to save her from further outrage. She was not more than twenty-six years old,—a handsome, delicate-

looking woman, with beautiful hair, thin lips, and fine features, and not darker than an Italian brunette. General Merewether, in ascertaining her wishes, refrained from intruding upon her, but remained in the verandah, and sent the interpreter Samuel into the room to convey his messages. The Queen said that she wished to go to her own native country of Semyen,[1] but that it was the last wish of his father that her son should be taken charge of by the English. She was then asked whether she would consent to part with the child, and she replied that she was prepared to comply with his father's wishes. It was arranged that she and her son, with the concubine Yatamanyu, should come down to the camp and accompany the English army as long as their roads led in the same direction.

The next business was with the chiefs of the fallen King, who were assembled in the court of one of the larger houses. All the best and bravest had fallen, either in the battle of Arogyè, or defending the Koket-bir, by the side of their hero-king. The survivors were about twenty-five in number, and their spokesman was the plausible Bitwaddad Hassané, the late Governor of Mágdala. They began by saying that, as their king was dead, they wished now to transfer their allegiance to the Queen of England; but they were

[1] Her father, Dadjatsh Oobyé, the former ruler of Tigré, was hereditary chief of Semyen.

told that all that was required of them was that they should return quietly to their homes, and refrain from meddling in politics. They were to be allowed to take mules for themselves and their families, and a certain number of them were to be supplied with arms to defend the others on the road. It was rather repulsive to see them bow down and touch the ground with their foreheads as each announcement was made to them; and it must be acknowledged that it would not be easy to find a more repulsive-looking set of ruffians in any part of the world than were these surviving officers of the court of King Theodore.

The numerous political prisoners were released from their fetters, and informed that their captivity was at an end. Foremost among them was Birou Goshu, the chief of Godjam, and the most formidable rival of Theodore at the time of his rise to power.[1] He was now bowed down by fourteen years of close imprisonment, and, in the hope of ending it, he had offered to secure the province of Godjam to the King, as the price of his release. Theodore is said to have hesitated. Had he adopted the proposal, the duration and result of the campaign might have been very different. Birou Goshu started almost immediately for his own land. Next in importance among the captive chiefs was Ali Fâris, the chief of the Yadjow Gallas, who also departed at once, without even paying his

[1] See page 63.

respects to the English General. Then there were the Wakshûm Teferrî, the most accomplished and popular leader in the country, and rightful chief of Wag; Balgada Araya, of Enderta, maternal uncle of Kâsa; Áragâwi, the youngest son of Sabagadis; Ayto Dargi, an uncle of the King of Shoa; Guangul and Kâsa, sons of Dadjatsh Oobyé, and brothers of the Queen; and several chiefs of Tigré, Bagemder, Dembea, and Godjam, of less note.

There was one aged personage in Mágdala who was almost lost sight of in the confusion. But, on the 16th, a very old man—so old, indeed, as to be quite in his dotage—rode into the camp on a mule, dressed in a rich silk shirt. This proved to be the Hatsé Yohannes, the legitimate Emperor of Abyssinia, the lineal representative of one of the oldest families in the world. He had always been treated with the utmost respect by the upstart Theodore, and had been brought by him to Mágdala. On the death of his protector, the old man wandered down into the English camp, where he was treated with scant ceremony.

The numerous inhabitants of Mágdala, including the soldiers and camp-followers, amounting to upwards of 30,000 souls, had formed a large camp on Arogyè, and soon afterwards began their forlorn and perilous march towards their native provinces, escorted by British troops, across the Beshilo and Jidda ravines, as

far as Wadela. This escort was absolutely necessary to protect the fugitives from the bands of Galla robbers who infested the roads and murdered all stragglers. For some days, towards the end of April, the fugitives were encamped at Yasendyè, on the Wadela plateau. Their camp, consisting of hundreds of black tents of various sizes, and placed in no regular order, covered two eminences and an intervening valley, and at night the thousands of lights made it look like a large city. In wandering amongst the tortuous lanes formed by the tents, we came upon many forms of human misery —men in cruel pain with undressed wounds, helpless old people, stripped by robbers on the road, and exhausted by the fatigues of the march; children crying for food, and mothers with no means of satisfying their hunger. Many were gently-nurtured ladies, wives and daughters of chiefs, women who had been made widows and orphans by the fell slaughter of the 10th of April. They had never known what it was to want; but now the poor things were eager to sell their personal ornaments, their sacred pictures and books, all their most cherished possessions, for the means of buying bread. In the English camp there was no misery, save such as was caused by rather tough beef and the absence of grog; but here were some of the horrors of war.

The fugitives accompanied the march of the retiring army as far as the Takkazyè valley, and then wearily

turned their steps towards their former homes in Bagemder, or Dembea, or Godjam, doubtless to be harassed and stripped by the villagers along their line of march.

The question at once arose as to the disposal of the fortress of Mágdala. It was at first intended to hand it over intact to Wakshûm Gobazyé, who was, since the death of Theodore, the most powerful chief in Southern Abyssinia. His General, Dadjatsh Mashesha, who had done such good service in sending in supplies, was sent for to receive possession. But, after some consideration, Mashesha resolved to decline the proffered gift on the part of his master. He said that to defend and occupy so large a place would require more troops than he could afford for that service, while any subsequent evacuation of so famous a fortress would cause great loss of prestige; and he added that the line of the Beshilo was the natural and defensible frontier between the Christian country and that of the Gallas, while Mágdala was a distant outpost. Mashesha, however, received 200 of Theodore's muskets, and the chiefs of Dalanta and Dâunt were given 100 each.

Sir Robert Napier then determined to burn all the huts on Mágdala, to blow up the Koket-bir and Kaffir-bir gates, and burst all the guns. It was found that King Theodore had collected as many as 37 pieces of ordnance—28 guns and 9 mortars, as follow:—

24 Brass Guns.

3 between 6 and 7 inches' calibre, equal to 40-pounders, but carrying 50-pounder shot composed of zinc and antimony.
3 between 4 and 5 inches' calibre, equal to 9 and 12-pounders.
9 „ 3 and 4 „ „ „ 9 and 6-pounders.
9 „ 2 and 2 „ „

24

4 iron guns of 2 inches' calibre.

28

9 Brass Mortars.

1 with metal 8 inches thick, and bore 20 inches in diameter.
1 with bore 13 „ „
2 „ „ „ „ 10 „ „
1 „ „ „ „ 6 „ „
3 „ „ „ „ 3⅞ „ „
1 „ „ „ „ 2¼ „ „

9

All the mortars were of native manufacture, some with a neat inscription in Amharic. The best was the 13-inch mortar. Four of the guns were Turkish field-pieces; two were the English guns cast at the Cassipore foundry, near Calcutta, which were presented to the King of Shoa by Major Harris, in 1842; and two were French, of old date. Rude shells were also found; and a good deal of case; the latter made in cases containing bullets, chips of castings, &c., rammed down with cow-dung. There were also English forges of different kinds. All the guns and mortars were good and serviceable, except one of the three largest, which had burst on Fâla, in the action of the 10th.

On the 17th of April the destruction of the guns

was completed, the gates were blown up (an ill-fated cow going up with the Koket-bir), and every building in Mágdala was burnt to the ground, including the church which contained the body of King Theodore.

Mágdala, as has already been explained, is situated in the midst of the Wallo Galla country, and the possession of the famous stronghold was naturally coveted by the wild and lawless tribes which had been kept in check by the powerful Christian king—now no more. Warkit, the heroine who had so long made a stand against Theodore, and whose only son he had murdered, was now advanced in years and childless, and much of her power was gone. She was, however, supported by Menilek, King of Shoa, and had abated none of her pretensions. She was of noble birth, being of the same family as her deceased husband, Ahmed Beshir, the chief of the Wallo Gallas, of an ancient stock.

But latterly the majority of the Wallo Galla tribes had supported another Queen, named Mastwât,[1] widow of Libân, a cousin of Ahmed Beshir, who acted as regent for her son Imâm Ahmed. This woman is younger than Warkit, and has the immense advantage of being a mother with a living son; but she is of mean extraction. She is, however, by far the most powerful of the two, Warkit having lost her influence when she lost her child.

[1] Mastwât means a looking-glass.

At sunset of April 16th, the arrival of Warkit, the once redoubtable Queen of the Gallas, was announced at the piquets. She had an interview with Sir Robert Napier, and said to him: "We fought with Theodore as long as we could, and when his power was too strong for us to resist any longer, my son submitted to him on receiving a promise of good treatment, notwithstanding which he was inhumanly cut to pieces, and thrown over the precipice of Mágdala. Now I have come to see the grave of my enemy Theodore, and the place where my son fell." Sir Robert proposed to mediate between her and Mastwât; but she replied: "When two persons are striving for a crown, how can peace be made between them? If Mastwât were to make peace with me to-day before you, she would betray me to-morrow." She then received some presents, and took her departure.

Even before she was gone, the approach of Mastwât and her son was announced; and they came into camp at sunset of the 17th, accompanied by Akbar Ali, the interpreter who had been sent to the more powerful Galla queen, from Dalanta. He reported that the residence of Mastwât was on a hill, called Lugod, about five miles from Mágdala, but on the Dalanta side of the Beshilo. She had left it, apparently, from fear of the approach of the British army; but she met Akbar Ali, near Lugod, on the 13th, and was fully reassured by him. Akbar Ali stated that

she ordered the Gallas to invest Mágdala on the Kaffir-bir side, and prevent the escape of Theodore; and he added that every one who attempted to come out was either driven back or captured. This alleged investment was, however, a mere farce. The Gallas were simply looking out for plunder, and, amongst others, Theodore's son Mashesha, with his followers, left Mágdala by the Kaffir-bir gate, and passed through the Gallas without difficulty. Mastwât expressed great joy at the fall of Theodore,[1] and, after Mágdala had been destroyed and evacuated by the English, she and her followers at once took possession of the dismantled fortress. Thus was the great outwork of the Christians, which, under Theodore, had kept their savage enemies at bay for twelve years, once more handed over to the Gallas! After the departure of the English, Mastwât was driven out of Mágdala by Menilek, who handed over the fortress to his ally, Queen Warkit. The subjects of Queen Mastwât showed a little too much alacrity in obeying her orders to attack all fugitives from Mágdala. Not content with confining their attentions to the Christian Abyssinians, they extended them to the mules and followers of the English force; and it became necessary to keep a very sharp look-out, and to open fire upon

[1] On being shown a sketch of Theodore after death, and asked whether it was like, Mastwât replied, "How should I know? Who has ever seen him and lived?"

the lawless Galla ruffians who infested the roads in all directions.

The classic rock of Amba Geshen had been garrisoned and held for Theodore by an officer in his service, named Aba Meerza, a Bengal Jew, who, on hearing of the death of his master, had announced his readiness to surrender it. Dadjatsh Mashesha left the English camp with the avowed intention of occupying Amba Geshen, but in reality with the design of attacking the released chief Ali Fâris, who had taken his departure so unceremoniously from Mágdala, and was now at the head of a large body of Yadjow Gallas. Mashesha surprised and killed a few of the followers of Ali Fâris; but, carrying the pursuit too far, he was himself seized by some of his own soldiers who favoured the cause of his opponent, and handed over a prisoner to the very man whom he intended to capture. Mashesha had been our faithful and very useful ally, and it had been mainly due to his exertions that sufficient provisions had come in to enable the English force to advance. But in this instance he was not acting at our request, or by our advice, and it would have been difficult to rescue him. He was therefore left to his fate, a letter being written to Ali Fâris, with a request that he would treat his prisoner well, and refer their dispute for the decision of their common master, the Wakshûm Gobazyé.

The English force was encamped on Aficho from

the 10th to the 18th of April. The water-supply was very bad, horses and mules being obliged to be taken a distance of several miles to the Beshilo to water; and the place was becoming unhealthy, owing to the number of dead bodies of men and animals which surrounded the camp and tainted the air. There had been no losses in the field among the English; but one very sad occurrence threw a gloom over the camp. Young Morgan, of the Engineers, had charge of the new system of army-signals which had been sent out for trial, and had superintended them with much ability. They proved particularly useful in the ascent to Wadela, and on other occasions, and Morgan was completely master of all the details of their management. He was a most zealous and promising young officer, beloved and respected by his men, and always sharing the toils of the weary marches with them instead of riding the horse to which he was entitled. Two nights passed on the damp cold ground, one being that of the 10th, brought on a brain fever, from which he never rallied. He was carried for some marches in a dhoolie, and died just at the top of the descent from Wadela to the Takkazyè valley, where he was buried.

On the 16th all the freed captives from Mágdala commenced their first march homewards; and on the 18th the whole force re-crossed the Beshilo, and again encamped on the Dalanta plateau. A review of all

the troops was held on the 20th, including the 3d Dragoon Guards, who had just come up to the front; and in the afternoon the plunder brought up from Mágdala was sold for the benefit of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers. The royal seal of Theodore; his so-called crown, which was in reality a cap which had been given him by the Patriarch of Egypt, and which he had thrown on one side;[1] one of his silken shirts; besides some of the handsomest shields and kettledrums, given to regiments as trophies,—were reserved. The arrangements for the return to the coast were then matured, and the troops commenced their march in three divisions; the rear of the army re-crossing the Jidda ravine on the 24th of April, and reaching Dildi on the 29th, where there was a day's halt.

That part of the Expedition which had not been so fortunate as to share in the operations before Mágdala, had been employed on equally important and much harder work in the rear, and had done it well. The heaviest work of all was at Mulkutto and Komayli, where the railway had to be constructed between those places under the burning heat of a tropical sun, the landing piers enlarged, provisions and supplies forwarded up the pass, and continually arriving mules and other animals landed. During the first part of

[1] The real ancient crown of Ethiopia is believed to have been stolen after the capture of Mágdala, and to be now in Prussia.

the time, and until they went up to the front, the railway work was done mainly by Major Chamberlain and his Punjab Pioneers, and afterwards by the 2d Bombay Native Infantry under Colonel Muter, and the Army Works Corps, with a few civilian platelayers. Captain Darrah, the Engineer officer who had the general superintendence, and who worked unceasingly in that scorching and terrible climate, early and late, day after day for five months, performed certainly the severest, and perhaps the most useful service of any one in the Expedition. The main line of railroad from Mulkutto to within a mile of Komayli, across the burning coast-plain, was 10½ miles long. In the first six miles the plain rises a hundred feet; the line then passes through a low range of hills, where there was heavy work in cutting, embanking, and bridging; it then descends about 50 feet to the Komayli plain, and rises 348 feet at the terminus. Water was obtained from wells at the fourth, seventh, and ninth miles, sunk 50, 65, and 85 feet respectively; and the engines were fed from tanks by piping. There were eight iron girder bridges, and many drains. The cost, exclusive of rails and plant, was about 6,000*l.*, and the line was very useful in forwarding Commissariat stores from the coast, and latterly, in taking down the troops for embarkation. Iron piping was sent out from England, to bring the Komayli water into Mulkutto, and thus obviate the necessity

for condensing; but there was neither time nor labour available for laying it down. The 18th Bombay Native Infantry formed the garrison of Mulkutto, the 2d was at Komayli, while the 5th and 8th were never even landed. The 21st Punjab Regiment did important service in the pass, detachments being stationed at Raha-guddy, Maiyen Wells, and Sooroo, and patrolling the intervening roads.

General Malcolm commanded the troops on the highlands from Senafé to Ashangi, there being four principal stations. That at Senafé was garrisoned by the 26th Cameronians and a wing of the 10th Native Infantry, under Brigadier Stewart. At Adigerat there was an entrenched position with the 25th Bombay Native Infantry under Colonel Little, and two companies of the Cameronians. At the Buya camp, near Antâlo, round which a stone wall was built, there were a wing of the 45th Regiment and a wing of the 25th Bombay Native Infantry, under Brigadier Collings; and at Ashangi, Colonel Campbell had a garrison consisting of the 3d Bengal Native Infantry and a wing of the 10th Bengal Cavalry. The other wing of the latter regiment was at Dildi. The work at these stations consisted in collecting and forwarding supplies, and in pushing on troops to the front. But the heaviest and most responsible duties were performed by those admirable and efficient troops, the Native Cavalry. The non-commissioned officers of these cavalry regi-

ments were left in sole charge of the smaller stations along the line, far from control, and entrusted with important Commissariat duties. They succeeded in keeping up a good feeling with the villagers, and supplies to enable troops and convoys of mules to go forward to the front depended on the ability and trustworthiness of these native non-commissioned officers. The Indian cavalry regiments also performed the whole of the postal work, involving very severe and harassing service, as well as escort duties. The admirable 3d Bombay Cavalry, commanded by Colonel Graves, an old warrior of the Affghan campaign, had seen all the really heavy work of the first two months of the Expedition, and they and the Sind Horse latterly had taken the postal work from the front to Antâlo, while the 10th and 12th Bengal Cavalry, who arrived later, undertook that from Antâlo to the coast.

The roads had not been neglected by the force in the rear, and they had been converted into very good lines for ordinary mule traffic, while from Adigerat to Mulkutto, a distance of a hundred miles, there was an excellent first-class fair-weather road, suited for cart traffic, including three well-traced zigzag ghauts at Khursabur, near Adigerat, at Goona-goona, and between Senafé and Raha-guddy. Lieutenant St. John had also succeeded in surmounting difficulties of no ordinary kind, and had opened the line of electric telegraph from Antâlo to the sea.

The establishment of powerful strangers in all these eastern provinces of Tigré was an entirely new experience for the inhabitants. Their irresistible power precluded all idea of wholesale attempts at plunder, while their fair dealing and good nature encouraged the establishment of friendly relations, and attracted the villagers to the British stations, to sell the produce of their farms, as well as out of curiosity. There can be no doubt that the country-people liked us, benefited by our presence, and regretted our departure. But the chiefs and head-men viewed our presence with some jealousy: our markets and transport conventions interfered somewhat with the levy of their tolls and black-mail, and such disagreements and rows as did occur were caused by them. Walda Yasoos of Wadjerât, and another truculent rebel who dwelt on an *amba* called Arara, to the east of the road beyond Atala, were the most troublesome. Walda Yasoos attempted to exact tolls from the people who were carrying our grain, and for a time disorganized one link of General Merewether's chain of native transport. But a stop was put to this amusement by Kâsa, who, regardless of his promise to the English general, sent an army commanded by his brother Guksa, to attack the rebel in his stronghold of Alaji. Walda Yasoos ran away and took refuge on the shores of Lake Ashangi, near our camp, leaving his brother Barya Gorgis to defend the *amba*, which he did suc-

cessfully. There was a sort of battle on the Alaji saddle, in which both sides treated each other with extreme respect, and Guksa retired. When Sir Robert Napier arrived at Átala on his return, Walda Yasoos made his appearance, apologized for all that had been done in his name, and for the mistake he had made in interfering with the native transport, and was forgiven. He also said it was the other man that did it —he of Arara, who really had stolen some mules, which Walda Yasoos had recovered and restored. There had been some less important differences with the head-men at Dildi, Marawa, Lât, and Ashangi; but on the whole the good understanding with the natives had been wonderfully well preserved, all along the line.

The return march of the advanced force was effected without any incident worthy of record, along the road which had been improved and rendered easy by the less fortunate troops in the rear. After leaving Dildi, however, there were showers every evening, and on the 6th and 8th of May torrents of rain came down, which increased the discomfort of the men. But as the troops approached the base of operations their privations gradually decreased, and they came upon fresh luxuries at every march. Even commercial enterprise extended to within sight of Mágdala itself, and a daring Greek arrived upon the Dalanta plateau with Dutch cheese, boxes of sardines, and candles, at

fabulous prices. Rum appeared again and was heartily welcomed in Wadela; new boots and chocolate at Ashangi; damson jam, currant jelly, and mixed biscuits at Antâlo; beer at Adigerat; and at Senafé there was a street of Parsee shops abounding in every kind of luxury. The highland transport service, under the able management of Captain Hand, improved very much towards the end of the campaign. Carts, drawn by two mules each, and camels worked from the coast as far as Ashangi, and beyond that mules and bullocks were used. As many as 2,720 mules were purchased in Abyssinia itself, and on the 1st of May there were 7,690 in the highland train, out of which 1,944 were sick; while 1,257 had been sent down sick to Komayli, and 449 had died on the road. The sickness amongst the mules was caused by constant exposure, with want of rest, hard work, insufficient food, and above all by galls, owing to bad saddles, and by the deplorable way of loading the animals. After leaving Antâlo, the army was divided into five divisions, instead of three as before.

In passing through the country between Ashangi and Antâlo, that immemorial border-land of robbery and murder, the Azebo Gallas became more daring from the knowledge that the wealthy strangers were taking their departure. They watched the march from a distance, attacked any muleteer or follower who straggled far from the escorts, and even made attempts

upon the baggage. But the rear-guard was vigilantly commanded by Colonel Bray of the 4th, and he found it necessary occasionally to fire upon the robbers.

A number of the Tigré and other chiefs, who had been captives in Mágdala, travelled homewards with their deliverers. At Santara the King's favourite concubine, Yatamanyu, was dismissed with presents to her country, that of the Yadjow Gallas. At Lât the two sons of Dadjatsh Oobyé, Kâsa and Guangul, took their leave, and departed for their native province of Semyen, leaving their sister, the Queen Terunesh, to the care of the English. She appears latterly to have changed her mind about going home to Semyen, and to have resolved to accompany her little son Alam-ayahu, whithersoever he might be taken. But this was not to be. The poor young Queen had been suffering from ill-health ever since she left Mágdala; and at Haik-hallat, one stage beyond Antâlo, she ended her short unhappy life, and was buried in the neighbouring church of the Trinity at Chelicut, beside the body of the brave old Râs Walda Selassyè. Her son was brought to England.[1]

1 King Theodore had six children, one legitimate by a marriage recognised by the Church, and the rest by civil marriages:—

1. Alam-ayahu (literally, "I have seen the world"), his only legitimate child, about 10 years old, by his Queen Terunesh, now in England.
2. Râs Mashesha, aged about 20. Immediately after the taking of Mágdala he went off to Shoa, with a few followers.

The last division of the expeditionary force, with Sir Robert Napier and the Head Quarters, arrived at Senafé on the 25th of May, where Kâsa, the ruler of Tigré, with his principal chiefs, was in attendance to take leave of the English general; and he remained encamped in the neighbourhood until the departure of his friendly invaders. The great chiefs of Tigré, who had been released from captivity at Mágdala, swore allegiance to the new ruler at a durbar held in presence of Sir Robert Napier. There were the Balgada Araya, who was already famous in Abyssinian history; Aragâwi, the youngest son of Sabagadis, whose turbulent sons and nephews had already been defeated in Agamé, and had submitted to the new ruler; and the chief of Haramât. The weak-minded Kâsa went about with a sort of crown on his head, which was always coming down over his eyes, and gazed with stupid wonder at the rocket practice of the Naval Brigade. He is evidently a tool of the more powerful chiefs, whom accident has pitchforked into supreme power, and who may or may not be allowed to retain it; but in any case little good can be expected from so poor a creature. Sir Robert Napier deemed it advisable,

3. Haylu Kâsa, a boy, who was left in Tigré with his mother, a Galla woman.

4. The eldest daughter, about 20, married first to Menilek, King of Shoa. When he ran away, Theodore gave her in marriage to a chief of Tigré, named Báreái.

5 and 6. Two younger daughters, aged 5 and 3, who were taken by their mothers to Bagemder.

partly with reference to the hint at such a return which was given during the former interview on the Haramât plain, to present him with a battery of mountain guns and mortars, and smooth-bore muskets for one regiment. It was intended that this supply of arms should enable him to hold his own against the possible attacks of the Wakshûm Gobazyé. At the same time the Envoy Mercha Warkê, who is a thoroughly good fellow, received a handsome present in money.

The character and disposition of the Wakshûm Gobazyé can only be guessed at, as he is not personally known to any European. In commencing his rebellion against Theodore he showed both courage and ability, though he was certainly very cautious, if not timid, in his operations while the King was executing his flank march to Mágdala. But the Wakshûm was not singular in this. There was not a man in Abyssinia who would have dared to attack the mighty warrior, armed with artillery, and fenced round with that almost supernatural prestige with which all classes of people regarded him.[1] The Wakshûm was one of the first and best friends of the British captives in

1 Mercha Warkê told me that one day, when Theodore was riding with him and a few chiefs at a distance from his army, a messenger rode quickly up to report that a body of about a hundred mounted hostile Gallas were coming over the brow of a hill. The King ordered his companions to remain where they were, and galloped quite alone at full speed over the hill, shouting his war-cry and whirling his spear round. As soon as the Gallas saw who it was coming towards them in this way, they turned round and

Mágdala. After Theodore had finally departed from Bagemder, the powerful rebel showed considerable promptitude in occupying and bringing under his sway all the provinces as they were evacuated by the King, and he finally cemented his power by the defeat and death of Tirsu Gobazyé of Walkeit, a formidable and dangerous rival. While the English were engaged in the capture of Mágdala, the Wakshûm was busily employed in securing his new conquests, and the request of Sir Robert Napier that he would arrange an interview at some point on the line of march remained unattended to, although civil letters were exchanged. There were probably deep reasons of policy for avoiding the proposed interview. The Abyssinians are one of the proudest people in the world. Long after Theodore's cruelties are forgotten, his prowess and valour will be sung at every hearth, his utter defeat will touch a sore point in the national character, and the foreigners who committed so horrible and unexampled a slaughter upon the Abyssinian soldiers will not be loved. The pride of the people will be touched to the quick. Gobazyé may have had this feeling himself, at all events he may have foreseen that it would arise around him. There were evident signs of it even before we left the country. This may have influenced the rising chief in avoiding an inter-

scattered in all directions. This anecdote is characteristic, and shows the marvellous prestige his bravery had gained for him among the wild tribes of Abyssinia.

view. While rejoicing that Theodore's power should be destroyed, he may have thought that, when Kâsa is pointed at as the *protégé* of those foreigners who had humiliated and slaughtered the warriors of Abyssinia, he would be looked to as the representative of national feeling and national pride. He also probably doubted the good faith of the close allies of his enemy Kâsa. Meanwhile he was fully engaged in establishing his power as the successor of the dead king. It is understood that his popular cousin the Wakshûm Teferrî, and Birou Goshu, the once mighty ruler of Godjam, joined his camp and submitted to him as soon as they departed from the place of their long captivity. After the English were gone, Gobazyé had himself declared Emperor with the title of Hatsé[1] Tekla Gorgis. Young Râs Mashesha, Theodore's son, is since reported to have been joined by many of his father's chiefs, and to have become powerful in Bagemder.

On the 29th of May Sir Robert Napier finally departed from Abyssinian territory, and rode down the Senafé pass. The rains of this month had done some damage to the road about Sooroo. On the 3d there was a fresh which flowed over the road in a stream

[1] The title of Hatsé has hitherto belonged exclusively to the ancient royal family. Even Theodore never assumed it. But the royal family may have become extinct by the death of old Yohannes, and Gobazyé may claim the title of Hatsé by right of his descent from the dynasty of Zague. See pages 11 (*note*) and 85.

twenty feet wide and two deep, from Guinea Fowl plain, past Maiyen wells, to Sooroo; but the fall of rain was quite local, as there was none at Sooroo, and none higher up the pass than ten miles on the coast-side of Raha-guddy. On the 19th there was another heavy flood in the Sooroo defile, which swept away some cattle and seven camp-followers, and broke up the road. This flood came down the torrents from the Koheitò mountains. The road was soon repaired again. These freshes are caused by the spring rains of April and May. After these rains cease there is generally a dry month, and then the regular rainy season commences; but we did not remain long enough in the country to observe the effect of the continuous rains in the highlands on the passes towards the coast.

On the first of June Sir Robert Napier passed the Sooroo defile, and reached Komayli with the last column of the Abyssinian expeditionary force, consisting of the 25th Bombay Native Infantry and the Beloochees. The Shohos had given more or less trouble in the Senafé pass during the whole period of its occupation by the English. In spite of agreements and promises, their thievish and ruffianly propensities came out whenever there was a chance, and latterly there were orders against any one travelling without an escort. But the only murder which took place was that of Mr. Dufton of the Intelligence De-

partment, whose pleasant book was so generally read in England, just before the expedition started. He left Maiyen wells at about 5 P.M. on the 28th of May, with his Indian servant and a muleteer, on his way to the coast. After he had gone about three miles some Shohos started up behind him, a spear was lodged in his side, and a sword-cut nearly severed his right wrist. The cowards then pulled him to the ground, and he received another deep cut across the knee. The servant was killed and the baggage plundered. The muleteer, himself wounded, brought the news to Maiyen wells, and a surgeon was soon on the spot; but there was never any hope of Mr. Dufton's recovery, and he died next morning. It was impossible to discover or punish the perpetrators of this murder, which appears certainly to have been committed solely with the object of plunder. Poor Mr. Dufton had been sent out from England, owing to his previous knowledge of Abyssinia. He had at first been employed to organize a body of Shohos, and make a road from Mulkutto to Adoda. Afterwards he proved useful in procuring supplies on the march, and doing other work of that kind, and at one time he acted as postmaster to the 2d Brigade. He was always ready to make himself useful in any capacity, and his untimely end was much regretted by all who had known him.

The arrangements for the embarkation of the troops

were admirably made and carried out by Captain Tryon, R.N.; and there was not a hitch of any kind in this difficult operation, which required much previous forethought. The troops nearest the coast were of course embarked first. According to the original arrangement, which was but slightly deviated from afterwards, the 18th Bombay Native Infantry at Mulkutto, the 2d at Komayli, and a wing of the 10th were to go on board on the 10th of May. The 21st Punjab Regiment in the pass, the 26th Cameronians at Senafé, and the Bombay Artillerymen were to embark on the 15th. This disposed of all the troops between Senafé and the coast. The rest of the force was shipped off between that date and the first week of June; except the 3d and 25th Bombay Native Infantry, Bombay and Madras Sappers, and Army Works Corps, remaining behind in charge of stores. All the surviving elephants and a selection of the best mules were also sent to Bombay, and the last man of the expedition had departed from Annesley Bay before the month of June was out. The Commander-in-Chief sailed in the steamer *Feroze*, and reached Suez on June 18th.

The whole of the Europeans who had been in the service of or detained by King Theodore were provided with free passages, and left the country, with the exception of Mr. Zander, and the veteran botanist Schimper, who had been so many years

in Abyssinia, and had become so completely naturalized, that he preferred to remain in the land of his adoption.[1]

Abdul Kadir Pasha, the Egyptian Governor-General of Soudân, was requested to take temporary charge of certain stores that were left on the coast, consisting chiefly of railway plant and temporary buildings, and the mules that were left behind were handed over to M. Munzinger to dispose of in the best way possible. Mulkutto and Komayli, with all the numerous advantages conferred on those places by the English, the landing-piers, wells, and roads, were at once taken possession of by the Egyptians, and Abyssinia was again sealed up and isolated.

Thus ended the Abyssinian Expedition. Sir Robert Napier and his Staff proceeded to England to receive honours and rewards which were lavished with no grudging hand. A Peerage, a Grand Cross of the Bath, and a pension, were conferred upon the Commander-in-Chief, while two Knight Commanderships and 27 Companionships of that Order, 15 Colonelcies, 18 Lieutenant-Colonelcies, and 30 Majorities were distributed amongst the officers of the Expedition. Never were services so fully and handsomely recompensed.

Merewether was made an extra Knight Commander

[1] Mr. Zander afterwards died at Massowa. Two of the King's workmen, Meyer and Bender, have since gone back to Abyssinia, and Waldmeier will probably follow them.

of the Star of India. He had no time for festivities in England, but went at once to his duties in India. Before the middle of July he was again hard at work as Commissioner of Sind, bringing all the resources of his varied experience and cultivated mind to bear on the development of one of the most rising and important provinces in India. His invaluable services in connexion with the Abyssinian expedition will become matter of history; but it is to be hoped that a long career of usefulness is still before him, and that Sind, though the first, will not be the last place that will benefit by the administrative ability of Sir William Merewether.

From most points of view this Abyssinian Expedition may be looked upon by Englishmen with unmixed satisfaction. The cause of quarrel was absolutely just, the main objects for which the expedition was undertaken were secured, and public opinion was still sufficiently alive to the honour of England to approve the addition of a penny to the Income-tax, to maintain it. The experience acquired during active service by many young officers is a clear gain to the country; and, in traversing a very interesting and remarkable region, some additional knowledge has been collected, by those who were specially sent out for the purpose, in several branches of science.

The future destiny of Abyssinia will depend much on the rise of some man with strong will and great

ability, a Theodore without his fanaticism and mad devilish pride, who will have the power to consolidate all the Christian highlanders into one people. The experiment of dividing the country into separate principalities has been tried ever since the disruption of the old monarchy, and has failed. Interminable feuds and civil wars have been the result. Had Theodore, instead of wasting his strength against the Muhammedan Gallas, devoted his undoubtedly great abilities to the consolidation of the Christian provinces, he might now have been the powerful sovereign of a united people. What he failed in may yet be done by the Wakshûm Gobazyé or another. But the most pressing want for Abyssinia is the means of communication with the rest of Christendom. All the civilization of that country, which dates back now for 1,500 years and more, is due to the possession of a port. The main cause of its present barbarism is, as I have endeavoured to show in the earlier chapters, its isolation. The occupation of the sea-coast by the Turks, in the 16th century, was a terrible calamity. It cut off the Abyssinians from all intercourse with their fellow-Christians, from all civilizing influences, and from every chance of improving their condition.

If the English had taken this opportunity of unlocking and throwing wide open the gates of Abyssinia, the results of the march to Mágdala would have been a blessing to a large fraction of Africa, and would

have been productive of permanent good. Mulkutto should, with the concurrence of France and the other great Powers, have been declared a free port like Aden, with resident consuls, and the sovereignty should have been entrusted to an Abyssinian Beharnegash: the limits of the port to include Senafé and the road up the pass. The Egyptians might have received some compensation, and the curse which their occupation of the coast has brought upon Abyssinia would have been removed.

The anxious desire to avoid political complications has prevented our conferring this great blessing on the people whose country we invaded. Yet our presence, while we were avowedly only seeking our own transient ends, may have been productive of good. Our officers have taught the chiefs some lessons in moderation and good faith; new wants have been created, and the desire for their gratification will be an incentive to the cultivation of the arts of peace and the fostering of commerce; and experience of our just dealings will make the people value and seek after improved government at the hands of their own rulers. It may also legitimately be expected that the chiefs of Abyssinia will learn henceforth to respect the rights of foreigners who visit their land. There can be little doubt that the country-people will long cherish a kindly feeling for their liberal paymasters, and regret their departure.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

ALTITUDE OF PLACES IN ABYSSINIA FIXED BY C. R. MARKHAM, ESQ.

NOTE.—Observations for altitude were taken, with aneroid, or boiling point, or both, along the whole line of march from Mulkutto to Mágdala; but the following are the only results which are based on a sufficient number of observations to make them at all reliable. The rest are mere approximations.

	Feet above the sea.
Mount Sowayra	10,328
Senafé camp	8,332
Goona-goona	8,227
Adigerat	8,585
Argutti	9,036
Adabagi	8,781
Agula camp	7,209
Dolo	7,585
Buya camp	7,261
Antâlo town	8,432
Chelicut town	7,275
Amba Aradom (summit of peak)	10,240
Gotba Hairat (,, ,,)	10,481

APPENDIX B.

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS IN ABYSSINIA,

By C. R. MARKHAM, ESQ., *from December 6th, 1867, to May 8th, 1868.*

Date.	Place.	Barometer.	Aneroid.	Temperature.	Temperature of Sea.	Boiling Point.	Wind. Direction.	Wind. Force.	Wr.	REMARKS.
1867.										
Dec. 3d, left Suez . .										
,, 6th, 10 A.M. . .	Red Sea, 23° 6′ N, 36° 46′ E.	...	30·09	86	82	...	S.E.	3	b. c.	
3 P.M. . .	,, ,, ,,	...	30·00	84	...	...	,,	,,	b. c.	
7 P.M. . .	,, ,, ,,	...	30·00	80	...	...	,,	2	b. c.	
,, 7th, 10 A.M. . .	,, 21° 29′ N, 37° 53′ E.	...	30·04	84	82	...	,,	,,	b. c.	At 10 A.M. a light rain-squall.
3 P.M. . .	,, ,, ,,	...	30·04	86	...	...	,,	,,	b.	
7 P.M. . .	,, ,, ,,	...	30·05	82	...	...	,,	4	b. c.	Swell from the south.
,, 8th, 10 A.M. . .	,, 20° 7′ N, 38° 36′ E.	...	30·00	89	84	...	,,	,,	b. c.	,, ,,
3 P.M. . .	,, ,, ,,	...	30·00	88	...	...	E.S.E.	5	b. c.	,, ,,
7 P.M. . .	,, ,, ,,	...	30·00	83	...	...	,,	4	b.	,, ,,
,, 9th, 10 A.M. . .	,, 19° 13′ N, 39° 17′ E.	...	30·00	86	82	...	S.E.	,,	b. c.	,, ,,
3 P.M. . .	,, ,, ,,	...	30·01	84	...	...	,,	6	b. c.	A set to the eastward.
7 P.M. . .	,, ,, ,,	...	29·96	82	...	...	,,	,,	...	Much weed floating past.
,, 10th, 10 A.M. . .	,, 17° 53′ N, 39° 0′ E.	...	30·04	82	79½	...	,,	4	b.	Sea green.
3 P.M. . .	,, ,, ,,	...	30·04	85	...	...	,,	5	b.	Swell from the south.
7 P.M. . .	,, ,, ,,	...	30·00	83	...	...	,,	4	b. c.	
,, 11th, 10 A.M. . .	,, 16° 41′ N, 39° 9′ E.	...	30·00	82	80	...	E.N.E.	2	b.	Rain-squall at 3.30 A.M. 4 A.M. ran on shore, bumping heavily, a mile from the beach. Paps W.S.W. Diffnane Island, 11′ S.E. Got off 4.30; started at 10.45 A.M.
3 P.M. . .	,, ,, ,,	...	29·98	80	...	...	E.S.E.	4	b.	
7 P.M. . .	,, ,, ,,									

Date.	Place.	Barometer (Dr. L's).	Aneroid.	Temperature.	Boiling Point.	Wind. Direction.	Wind. Force.	Wr.	REMARKS.
1867.									
Dec. 12th	Camp, Mulkutto	...	...		...	...	...	b. c.	Fresh breeze from north in the day-time, causing heavy dust-storm.
,, 14th, 9 A.M.	,, ,,	29·96	29·98	89		...	...	b. c.	
,, 15th, 9 A.M.	,, ,,	30·01	30·10	88	...	N.E.	3	c.	Drizzle in the early morning. More
3 P.M.	,, ,,	28·90	29·94	84	...	N.N.E.	3	c	rain near the hills. Cloudy in
,, 16th, 9 A.M.	,, ,,	30·05	30·10	84	...	,,	2	b. c.	the afternoon. Sea breeze cleared
,, 17th, 9 A.M.	,, ,,	...	30·14	85	...	,,	...	,,	sky. Cloudy on night of 17th.
3 P.M.	,, ,,	...	30·10	84	...	,,	...	,,	Heavy clouds after sunset, driven
,, 18th, 9 A.M.	,, ,,	...	30·04	86	...	Northerly	1	b. c.	to the mountains with sea breeze.
,, 20th, 5.30 P.M.	Upper Sooroo	...	27·61	74	207·50	...	2	b.	
,, 21st, 3.15 P.M.	Raha-guddy	...	23·84	70	200·50	...	,,	,,	
,, 22d, 5·50 P.M.	Senafé	...	22·56	55	198·00	...	...	...	Clouds over hills to N.E. at sunset.
,, 23d, 9 A.M.	,,	...	22·53	74	,,	...	0	b.	
3 P.M.	,,	...	22·44	73	,,	...	1	b.	
,, 24th, 9 A.M.	,,	...	22·45	76	,,	...	,,	,,	
3 P.M.	,,	...	22·43	76	,,	...	3	,,	
,, 25th, 9 A.M.	,,	...	22·54	73	,,	...	...	,,	
3 P.M.	,,	...	22·49	74	,,	...	,,	b. c.	Overcast towards sunset.
,, 26th, 9 A.M.	,,	...	22·49	69	198	S.E.	1	b.	
3 P.M.	,,	...	22·52	74	,,	,,	1	b.	
,, 27th, 9 A.M.	,,	...	22·45	76	,,	S.S.E.	2	b.	
3 P.M.	,,	...	22·50	75	,,	,,	3	b. c.	
,, 28th, 9 A.M.	,,	...	22·54	79	,,	S.E.	2	b.	
3 P.M.	,,	...	22·50	77	,,	,,	3	b. c.	
,, 29th, 9 A.M.	Arabi Tereeki	...	21·60	68	196·05	E.S.E.	5	b. c.	Light clouds rolling up the eastern
3 P.M.	Senafé	...	22·32	80	198				passes.
,, 30th, 9 A.M.	,,	...	22·50	67	,,	,,	3	b.	
3 P.M.	,,	...	22·44	74·5	,,	Easterly	2	b.	
,, 31st, 9 A.M.	,,	...	22·54	65	,,	,,	1	b.	
3 P.M.	,,	...	22·50	70	,,	,,	2	b.	
1868.					,,	,,	3	b. c.	
Jan. 1st, 9 A.M.	,,	...	22·27	66					
3 P.M.	,,	...	22·48	69	,,	,,	2	b.	
,, 2d, 9 A.M.	,,	...	22·50	64	,,	,,	3	b.	
3 P.M.	,,	...	22·58	67	,,	,,	4	b.	
,, 3d, 9 A.M.	,,	...	22·56	63	,,	,,	2	b.	Very heavy dew at night and mist
P.M.	,,	...	22·47	73	,,	N.W.	1	b.	in the valleys.
		At Mulkutto.					4	b.	

		Bar.	Temp.						
Jan. 4th, 9 A.M.	Senafé	...	...	22·50	67	198	Easterly	1	b.	
3 P.M.	,,	30·01	...	22·40	73	,,	,,	2	b.	
,, 5th, 9 A.M.	,,	...	...	22·50	59	,,	,,	4	b.	
3 P.M.	,,	30·01	80½	22·45	70	,,	S.E.	5	b. c.	Very cold evening. Heavy dew.
,, 6th, 9 A.M.	,,	30·14	78½	22·55	62	,,	Easterly	2	b.	
3 P.M.	Mount Sowayra	30·02	81¾	22·80	68	195	,,	1	b. c.	Heavy mists rolling up from seaward.
,, 7th, 9 A.M.	Senafé	30·15	78½	22·46	59	198	,,	4	b.	
3 P.M.	,,	30·00	83	22·48	73	,,	,,	5	b.	
,, 8th, 9 A.M.	,,	30·00	79½	22·44	60	,,	,,	4	b.	
3 P.M.	,,	30·00	83	22·36	69	,,	,,	6	b.	Flaky clouds at night.
,, 9th, 9 A.M.	,,	30·02	79½	22·44	61	...	,,	3	b.	
3 P.M.	,,	30·00	81¾	22·40	74	198	,,	4	b. c.	Clouds rolling up from gorges to the east at night.
,, 10th, 9 A.M.	,,	30·02	78¾	22·46	62	,,	,,	1	b.	
3 P.M.	,,	30·08	82¾	22·35	72	,,	N.W.	1	b. c.	
,, 11th, 9 A.M.	,,	30·12	79	22·49	62	,,	Easterly	1	b.	
3 P.M.	,,	29·98	83	22·42	73	,,	,,	1	b.	
,, 12th, 9 A.M.	,,	30·13	79	22·50	69	,,	,,	3	b.	
3 P.M.	,,	30·00	80¾	22·46	74	,,	,,	2	b.	
,, 13th, 9 A.M.	,,	30·20	79	22·50	69	,,	,,	2	b. c.	
3 P.M.	,,	30·10	88½	22·44	73	,,	,,	1	b.	
,, 14th, 9 A.M.	,,	30·18	78½	22·50	70	,,	,,	4	b.	
3 P.M.	,,	30·08	81½	22·48	75	,,	,,	5	b. c.	
,, 15th, 9 A.M.	,,	30·18	78¾	22·50	70½	,,	,,	4	b.	
3 P.M.	,,	30·04	81	22·44	74	,,	N.W.	1	b.	
,, 16th, 9 A.M.	,,	30·20	78½	22·48	70	,,	Easterly	2	b.	
3 P.M.	,,	30·08	81½	22·40	75	,,	,,	1	b. c.	
,, 17th, 9 A.M.	,,	30·20	78½	22·48	69	,,	,,	2	b.	
3 P.M.	,,	30·04	81½	22·46	76	,,	,,	4	b.	
,, 18th, 9 A.M.	,,	30·13	79½	22·50	72	,,	,,	3	b.	
3 P.M.	,,	30·04	81½	22·30	74	,,	,,	2	b.	
,, 19th, 9 A.M.	,,			22·48	75	,,	,,	3	b.	
3 P.M.	,,	30·09	80½	22·42	69	,,	,,	4	b. c.	
,, 20th, 9 A.M.	,,	30·19	78½	22·48	69	,,	,,	2	b.	Max. 78, min. 44 (52 wet—65 dry).
3 P.M.	,,	30·09	81½	22·40	70	,,	,,	5	b.	(54 ,, —67 ,,).
,, 21st, 9 A.M.	,,	30·23	78½	22·48	68	,,	,,	4	b. c.	Max. 76, min. 42 (58 ,, —68 ,,).
3 P.M.	,,	30·14	81½	22·42	72	,,	,,	3	b.	(56 ,, —70 ,,).
,, 22d, 3.15 P.M.	Goona-goona	30·17		22·92	...	...	,,	2	b. c.	
9.15 ,,	,,	30·04	81¼	23·00	...	...	,,	4	b.	
,, 23d, 8.15 A.M.	,,	30·14		22·94	...	...	,,	3	b.	
9 ,,	Senafé	30·14	78½	22·50	72	198	,,	5	b.	Max. 76, min. 42 (50 wet—67 dry).
3 P.M.	,,	30·02	81¼	22·45	72	,,	,,	1	b. c.	(56 ,, —78 ,,).
,, 24th, 9 A.M.	,,	30·16	79	22·48	74	,,	,,	4	b.	Max. 78, min. 45 (52 ,, —69 ,,).
3 P.M.	,,			22·45	78	,,	,,	2	b.	(55 ,, —78 ,,).
,, 25th, 9 A.M.	,,	30·16	78¾	22·45	72	,,	,,	4	b.	Max. 78, min. 40 (50 ,, —66 ,,).
3 P.M.	,,	30·04	82	22·40	74	,,	,,	2	b.	(54 ,, —74 ,,).
,, 26th, 9 A.M.	,,	30·16	78½	22·40	70	,,	,,	5	b.	Max. 77, min. 39 (52 ,, —67 ,,).
3 P.M.	,,	30·00	83½	22·45	76	,,	,,	2	b. c.	(56 ,, —76 ,,).
,, 27th, 9 A.M.	,,	30·13	80	22·35	69	,,	,,	4	b.	Max. 78, min. 40 (50 ,, —66 ,,).
3 P.M.	,,	30·02	82	22·30	78	,,	,,	,,	b.	(58 ,, —76 ,,).

Date.	Place.	At Mulkutto. Bar.	At Mulkutto. Temp.	Aneroid.	Temperature.	Boiling Point.	Wind. Direction.	Wind. Force.	Wr.	REMARKS.
1868.										
Jan. 28th, 9 A.M.	Senafé	30·15	79	22·35	68	198	N.W.	5	b. c.	Max. 76, min. 38 (51 wet—68 dry).
3 P.M.	,,	30·05	81	22·30	76	,,	,,	6	b. c.	(57 ,, —76 ,,).
,, 29th, 9 A.M.	,,	30·10	78½	22·30	69	,,	Easterly	2	b.	Max. 80, min. 40 (55 ,, —70 ,,).
3 P.M.	,,	29·95	81¼	22 16	79	,,	,,	,,	b.	(56 ,, —78 ,,).
,, 30th, 9 A.M.	,,	30·05	80	22·30	62½	,,	,,	1	b.	Max. 79. Wet bulb, 50. Min. 42. Dry ,, 62½.
3 P.M.	,,	29·90	85	22·20	76	,,	N.E.	3	b.	Wet ,, 54; dry do. 75.
,, 31st, 9 A.M.	,,	30·10	79½	22·30	65	,,	Easterly	2	b.	Max. 76½. Wet ,, 51. Min. 45 Dry ,, 65.
Feb. 2d, 2 P.M.	Goona-goona	...	...	22·74	79	198·8	N.W.	3	b. c.	Fleecy clouds. A few drops of rain, with sheet lightning.
,, 3d, 6 P.M.	Adigerat	...	...	22·27	61	197·9	S.E.	2	b. c.	Dark clouds over hills to west. Light rain at 7 P.M. Heavy dew.
,, 4th, 9 A.M.	,,	30·22	75¾	22·30	68		,,	4	b. c.	Mist hanging over land till 7.30.
3 P.M.	,,	30·14	76½	22·18	71	,,	,,	2	b. c.	
,, 6th, 9 A.M.	,,	30·00	77	22·20	68	,,	,,	,,	b. c.	
3 P.M.	,,	29·88	81	20·10	74	,,	Westerly	4	c.	Light rain 7 to 9 P.M.
,, 7th, 3 P.M.	,,	29·94	82¾	22·14	77	,,	,,	2	c.	Storm with rain and lightning, coming from west. Sunset to 9 P.M.
		30·16	78	22·34	65		,,	3	c.	
,, 8th, 9 A.M.	,,	30·10	78¾	22·17	76	,,	N.E.	,,	c.	At 5 wind veered to E.S.E. Heavy dark clouds over Aloquor.
3 P.M.	,,									
,, 9th, 9 A.M.	,,	30·20	75	22·24	71	,,	Easterly	2	b. c.	
,, 10th, 9 A.M.	,,	30·16	75	22·36	68	,,	,,	,,	b.	
3 P.M.	,,	30·07	78	22·15	79	,,	,,	,,	b. c.	
,, 12th	Bêt Hairat	...	...	21·39	...	...	...	...	...	No dew in the night.
,, 13th, 6.30 A.M.	Argutti	...	...	21·86	43	196·9	,,	3	b. c.	
1 P.M.	Adabagi	...	...	22·14	72	197·75	,,	2	b. c.	
,, 14th, 1 P.M.	Dongolo	...	...	23·26	76	...	,,	3	b. c.	
5 P.M.	Agula	....	...	23·29	75	200·1	,,	6	b. c.	
,, 15th, 9 A.M.	,,	30·13	75	23·34	76	,,	,,	4	b. c.	Cloudy, and threatening rain in the morning.
,, 17th, 8 A.M.	Dolo	...	...	23·00	59	199·6	,,	3	b. c.	
,, 18th, 5 P.M.	Buya (Camp)	...	...	23·20	74	200·2	,,	7	c.	When wind died away, heavy storm of rain with thunder from west. Rain all night.
,, 19th, 1 P.M.	Antâlo (Town)	...	...	22·30	76	198·2	W.N.W.	4	c. r.	Rain in the mountains. Blowing fresh at camp in afternoon from east. Rain.
,, 20th, 6 P.M.	Buya (Camp)	...	...	23·20	71	200·2	Easterly	6	b. c.	Rain in mountains. Heavy mists lying low at dawn.
3 P.M.	,, ,,	30·04	76½	23·14	73	,,	,,	,,	b. c.	High wind in afternoon.

Feb. 21st, 11.30 A.M.	Chelicut	...	..	23·26	69	200·2	Easterly	6	b. c.	High wind in afternoon.
,, 23d	Amba Aradom	...	...	21·27	...	194·6	(Taken by Gerard Rohlfs)			Clear starlight night.
,, 24th, 11 A.M.	Camp (Buya)	...	...	23·20	75	200·2	Easterly	8	b.	High wind.
,, 26th, 9 A.M.	,, ,,	30·08	76⅔	23·15	74	,,	,,	2	b.	Cloudless night.
3 P.M.	,, ,,	30·00	74½	23·10	76	,,	,,	4	b. c.	High wind.
,, 27th, 9 A.M.	,, ,,	30·10	72⅔	23·12	74	,,	,,	,,	b. c.	Mist in the early morning.
3 P.M.	,, ,,	30·03	74⅔	23·07	78	,,	,,	6	b. c.	High wind.
,, 28th, 9 A.M.	,, ,,	30·17	73⅔	23·10	75	,,	,,	,,	b. c.	Mist in the early morning.
3 P.M.	,, ,,	30·04	74½	23·14	72	,,	,,	4	c. m.	
,, 29th, 9 A.M.	,, ,,	30·25	72⅔	23·36	58	,,	,,	3	c. m.	Clearing up at 10.
3 P.M.	,, ,,	30·18	75½	23·24	76	,,	,,	5	b. c.	
March 1st, 9 A.M.	,, ,,	30·14	74¼	23·30	60	,,	,,	3	b. c.	Clear bright day.
3 P.M.	Gutba Hairat	30·00	77	20·90	72	194·8	,,	2	b.	
,, 2d, 9 A.M.	Camp (Buya)	30·11	77⅓	23·30	62	,,	,,	,,	b.	
3 P.M.	,, ,,	29·97	81½	23·02	82	200·2	,,	5	b. c.	
,, 3d, 9 A.M.	,, ,,	30·11	79½	23·16	67	,,	,,	4	b.	
3 P.M.	,, ,,	29·98	82	23·12	80	,,	,,	5	b.	
,, 4th, 9 A.M.	,, ,,	30·05	79½	23·20	66	,,	,,	3	b.	
3 P.M.	,, ,,	29·90	83	23·14	77	,,	,,	5	b.	
,, 5th, 9 A.M.	,, ,,	29·98	80	23·24	64	,,	,,	1	b.	
3 P.M.	,, ,,	29·88	84	23·10	79	,,	,,	6	b. c.	
,, 6th, 9 A.M.	,, ,,	...	...	23·20	75	200·05	,,	3	b.	
3 P.M.	Amba Aradom	...	...	21·40	70	195·2	,,	6	b. c.	
,, 7th, 9 A.M.	Camp (Buya)	...	...	23·31	69	200·05	,,	4	b.	
3 P.M.	,, ,,	...	...	23·15	80	,,	,,	7	b. c.	
,, 8th, 9 A.M.	,, ,,	...	...	23·29	60	,,	,,	1	b.	
3 P.M.	,, ,,	...	...	23·12	81	,,	,,	5	b.	Thermometer down to 35° in the night.
,, 9th, 9 A.M.	,, ,,	...	...	23·29	65	,,	,,	1	b.	
3 P.M.	,, ,,	...	...	23·14	80	,,	N.E.	6	b. c.	
,, 10th, 9 A.M.	,, ,,	...	...	23·30	66	,,	Easterly	2	b.	
3 P.M.	,, ,,	...	...	23·18	79	,,	,,	4	b.	
,, 11th, 9 A.M.	,, ,,	...	...	23·26	68	,,	,,	2	b.	
3 P.M.	,, ,,	...	...	23·12	80	,,	,,	6	b.	Last thermometer smashed.
,, 12th, 9 A.M.	,, ,,	...	...	23·28	...	,,	,,	2	b.	
3 P.M.	Musgi	...	...	23·18	...	...	,,	5	b. c.	
,, 13th, 10 A.M.	Mishik	22·68	...	22·42	76	...	,,	4	b. c.	
3.15 P.M.	Amba Alaji (saddle)	20·72	...	20·52	64	...	,,	,,	b. c.	
4 P.M.	Atala	...	...	22·08	...	...	,,	,,	b. c.	Overclouded at night.
,, 14th, 8.30 A.M.	,,	...	...	22·21	68	198·2	,,	5	b.	
,, 16th, 1 P.M.	Ayba valley	...	...	21·44	...	...	,,	4	b. c.	
2 P.M.	Ferrah pass	...	...	20·07	...	...	,,	3	b. c.	
3 P.M.	Dobâ valley	...	...	22·00	...	...	,,	4	b. c.	
,, 17th, 7.30 A.M.	Makhan	...	...	22·28	...	198·2	,,	2	b.	
,, 18th, 10.30 A.M.	Top of saddle above Haya	...	...	21·74	...	...	,,	4	b. c.	
Noon	,, ,, Ashangi	...	...	21·40	...	...	,,	3	b. c.	
3 P.M.	Ashangi	...	...	21·97	...	...	,,	2	b. c.	
,, 19th, 9 A.M.	,,	...	...	22·08	...	196·8	,,	,,	b. c.	
3 P.M.	,,	...	...	21·94	...	,,	,,	,,	b.	
,, 20th, 3 P.M.	Wofela (Musagita camp)	...	...	21·96	...	...	S.E.	4	b. c.	

Date.	Place.	Barometer.	Aneroid.	Temperature.	Boiling Point.	Wind. Direction.	Wind. Force.	Wr.	REMARKS.
1868.									
Mar. 21st, 9 A.M.	Wofela (Musagita camp)	...	22·06	...	...	Easterly	4	b. c.	
3 P.M.	,, ,,	...	21·95	...	...	,,	3	b.	
,, 22d, 11 A.M.	Womberat plateau	...	20·56	...	...	,,	4	b. c.	
12 A.M.	Lât	...	21·34	...	...	,,	5	b. c.	
6 P.M.	,,	...	21·32	...	196·3	,,	3	b. c.	
,, 23d, 1 P.M.	Dafat mountain	...	20·56	...	...	,,	4	b. c.	
1 P.M.	,, saddle	...	20·74	...	...	,,	,,	b. c.	
2 P.M.	,, bottom	...	22·67	...	...	,,	3	b. c.	
3 P.M.	Marawa	...	22·54	...	...	,,	4	c.	
,, 24th, 7 A.M.	,,	...	22·56	...	...	,,	2	b. c.	Rainy-looking clouds over mountains to east.
7 A.M.	Top of next pass	...	21·73	...	...	,,	3	b. c.	
7.40 P.M.	Dildi	...	22·31	...	...	,,	3	t. l. r.	Heavy rain, with thunder and lightning, from 7 to 9 P.M.
,, 25th, 8 A.M.	,,	...	22·34	...	197·9	,,	1	b. c.	
3 P.M.	,,	...	22·25	...	,,	,,	5	o. c. r.	Heavy clouds and thunder from eastward. Overcast, and rain towards sunset.
,, 26th, 7.30 A.M.	,,	...	22·44	...	,,	,,	3	b. c.	
2.30 P.M.	Wandaj pass	...	19·60	...	...	,,	4	c. o. h. r.	Heavy storms of hail and rain, with thunder from eastward, until 9 P.M. Cleared up, but more rain later.
3 P.M.	,, peak	...	19·50	...	192·2	,,	,,	o. h. r. t.	
5.30 P.M.	,,	...	20·20	...	...	,,	3	o. r.	
,, 27th, 2.30 P.M.	Moja	...	20·76	...	...	N.E.	2	b. c.	Heavy rain-clouds to N.E.
,, 28th, 7 A.M.	,,	...	20·96	...	...	,,	4	b. c.	
11.30 A.M.	Bed of Takkazyè	...	21·97	...	197·4	East	,,	b. c.	
3 P.M.	Top of Santara pass	...	19·60	...	...	,,	,,	b. c.	
4 P.M.	Santara	...	19·70	...	...	,,	5	o. r.	Rain at sunset; cleared up in an hour.
,, 29th, 7.30 A.M.	,,	...	19·76	...	...	Easterly	3	b. c.	Hoar frost on the grass.
3 P.M.	,,	...	19·67	...	...	,,	4	b. c.	In the night sheet lightning from the west. Ice at night. Minimum at night, 17°. Hoar frost in the morning.
,, 30th, 7.30 A.M.	,,	...	19·78	...	...	,,	2	b. c.	
3 P.M.	,,	...	19·70	...	...	,,	3	b. c.	
7 P.M.	,,	...	19·67	...	...	,,	4	b. c.	
,, 31st, 5.30 P.M.	Gaso	...	19·82	...	...	East	2	b.	
April 1st, 7 A.M.	,,	...	19·96	...	...	,,	,,	b.	
3 P.M.	Abdakom	...	20·40	...	...	,,	3	b. c.	
,, 2d, 7.30 A.M.	,,	...	20·54	...	...	Easterly	2	b. c.	
1.30 P.M.	Top of Jidda ravine	...	20·92	...	...	,,	,,	b.	
5.30 P.M.	Yasendyè	...	20·56	...	...	,,	4	b. c.	Dark clouds, threatening rain.
,, 3d, 9 A.M.	,,	...	20·56	...	...	,,	1	b. c.	
3 P.M.	,,	...	20·46	...	...	,,	2	b. c.	Rain, thunder, and lightning after sunset. Heavy rain all night.

April 4th,	7 A.M.	Yasendyè	...	20·64	...	...	Easterly	3	c.	
	9 A.M.	On the road Wadela	...	20·87	...	...	,,	,,	b. c.	
	10 A.M.	Bêt-hor	...	21·06	...	...	,,	2	b. c.	
	12.15 P.M.	Bed of Jidda ravine	...	23·70	...	201·2	,,	3	b. c.	
	3 P.M.	Avercot	...	22·16	...	...	,,	4	c.	
	4 P.M.	Camp (Dalanta)	...	21·04	...	194·9	,,	6	c.	Rain at sunset from east.
,, 5th,	9 A.M.	,, ,,	...	21·04	...	,,	,,	2	b. c.	
	3 P.M.	,, ,,	...	20·97	...	,,	,,	1	b. c.	Rain began at 5.45 P.M.
	7 P.M.	,, ,,	...	20·65	...	,,	,,	5	t. l. o.	Heavy rain, with thunder and lightning, for several hours.
,, 6th,	7.30 A.M.	,, ,,	...	21·14	...	,,	East	3	b. c.	
	10 A.M.	Top of Beshilo gorge	...	21·11	...	...	S.E.	,,	b. c.	Clouds accumulating from east.
	11.45 A.M.	Plateau (half-way down)	...	22·34	...	...	,,	2	c.	
	2.30 P.M.	Top of Beshilo gorge	...	21·00	...	...	,,	3	c.	
	4 P.M.	Camp Dalanta (Tukrena)	...	20·98	...	194·9	,,	4	o. c.	At 5 P.M. a tremendous storm of thunder and lightning, with furious rain, broke over the camp. Rain until midnight.
	7 P.M.	,, ,,	...	20·95	...	,,	,,	3	t. l. o. r.	
,, 7th,	9 A.M.	,, ,,	...	21·09	...	,,	,,	2	b. c.	Blue sky, with a few light clouds.
	3 P.M.	,, ,,	...	20·97	...	,,	,,	3	c.	Raining to the east. Rain after sunset, with thunder.
,, 8th,	9 A.M.	,, ,,	...	21·09	...	,,	Easterly	2	b.	
	3 P.M.	,, ,,	...	20·96	...	,,	,,	4	o. c. h.	At 4 A.M. hailstorm with thunder. Stones the size of large marbles.
,, 9th,	9 A.M.	,, ,,	...	20·98	...	,,	,,	3	b. c.	Heavy rain in the afternoon.
	6 P.M.	Top of Beshilo gorge	...	21·06	...	,,	,,	5	c.	
,, 10th,	8 A.M.	,, ,,	...	21·09	...	,,	,,	4	b. c.	
	Noon	Bed of Beshilo	...	24·26	...	...	,,	3	b. c.	Thunderstorm with rain, 4 P.M. to sunset.
,, 11th,	8.15 A.M.	Camp (Arogyè)	...	22·40	...	...	,,	4	b. c.	
,, 12th,	9 A.M.	,, ,,	...	22·36	...	...	,,	3	b. c.	
	3 P.M.	,, ,,	...	22·16	...	...	,,	,,	b. c.	
,, 13th,	8 A.M.	,, ,,	...	22·40	...	...	,,	3	b. c.	
	2 P.M.	Selassyè	...	21·06	...	...	,,	4	c.	At noon a remarkable dark circle round the sun, like a brown blister, 130° in diameter. Storm of rain and thunder at 4 P.M.
,, 14th,	9 A.M.	Camp (Arogyè)	...	22·39	...	...	,,	3	b. c.	
	4 P.M.	Mágdala	...	21·16	...	...	,,	...	b. c. o. h.	Tremendous hailstorm. Marvellous sunset.
,, 15th,	9 A.M.	Camp (Arogyè)	...	22·31	...	...	,,	2	b. c.	
	5 P.M.	,, ,,	...	22·26	...	...	,,	6	c.	
,, 16th,	9 A.M.	,, ,,	...	22·24	...	...	,,	2	b. c.	Sun intensely hot. No rain.
	3 P.M.	,, ,,	...	22·20	...	...	,,	3	b. c.	
,, 17th,	9 A.M.	,, ,,	...	22·27	...	...	,,	2	b.	
	3 P.M.	,, ,,	...	22·23	...	...	,,	3	b. c.	
,, 20th,	1 P.M.	Bed of Jidda	...	23·60	...	...	,,	4	b.	No rain from the 16th. Blue sky, hot sun, and cold nights.
	3 P.M.	Bêt-hor	...	21·20	...	...	,,	3	b. c.	
	8 P.M.	Yasendyè	...	20·70	...	...	,,	,,	b. c.	

Gave aneroid, boiling-point apparatus, &c. to Mr. BLANDFORD, the geologist, in case he should visit any points off the road.

APPENDIX C.

THERMOMETRICAL OBSERVATIONS IN ABYSSINIA,

By DR. BLANC, *from October* 16, 1865, *to April* 7, 1868.

Date.	Place.	Temperature.				Wind.	Wr.	Remarks.
		Sunrise.	9 A.M.	2 P.M.	Sunset.	Direction.		
1865.		Dry.	Dry.	Dry.	Dry.			
Oct. 16	Monculloh	83	91	98	92 R.			
,, 17	Amba	81	91	97	91½ R.			
,, 18	Desert of Cheob	63	...	...	...			
,, ,,	Aiff	...	97	95	90	General direction of wind, N.N.E.		
,, 19	,,	73	94	96	90 R.		...	Gadaret at 9 P.M.
,, 20	Mahabar	73	90	91	87			
,, 21	,,	77	79	91	82			
,, 22	,,	69	82	90	82			
,, 23	,,	70	83	91	81 R.		...	
,, 24	Kelauut	61	81 R.	...	...			
,, ,,	Kohbat	...	...	89	79 R.			
,, 25	Barage	61	...	...	...			
,, ,,	Anseba	...	79	81	77			
,, 26	Haboob	55	71	81	77			
,, 27	,,	56	...	...	...			
,, ,,	Pass of Lookun	...	90	...	...			
,, ,,	Route to Shenab	...	...	106 R.	...			
,, ,,	Shenab	...	...	...	77			
,, 28	,,	69	110 sun / 90 shade	102	82 R.			
,, ,,	Route to Adarta	...	...	...	...			
,, 29	Adarta	...	82	104	...			
,, ,,	Route to Jabi	69	82	...	85			
,, 30	,, ,,	77	...	...	...			
,, ,,	Jabi	...	85	100	...			
,, ,,	Route to Luleb	...	...	...	91 R.			
,, 31	Tagaaret	...	...	...	...			
,, ,,	Route to Zaga	70	83	92	...			
Nov. 1	Zaga	69	85	107 route / 100 s. tent	91	Winds variable.		
,, 2	,,	69	85	100	89			
,, 3	Route to Hauascheit	66	...	...	...			
,, ,,	Hauascheit	...	83	96	...			
,, ,,	Route	...	...	...	91			
,, 4	Route to Idrisdar	69	83	...	...			
,, ,,	Idrisdar	...	...	98	...			
,, ,,	Route to Sabderat	..	...	...	88			
,, 5	Sabderat	66	81	96				
,, ,,	Route to Kassala	...	...	...	87			
,, 6	Kassala	71	82	90	88			
,, 7	,,	75	83	91	87			
,, 8	,,	71	82	90	85			
,, 9	,,	82	85	90	86			
,, 10	,,	...	...	93	91 R.		rain, thunder, and lightning	Route to Gisser (Gasch).

Date.	Place.	Temperature. Sunrise.	9 A.M.	2 P.M.	Sunset.	Wind. Direction.	Wr.	Remarks.
1865. Nov. 11	Gisser (Gasch)	Dry. 71	Dry. 83	Dry. 106 R.	Dry. 88	...	Rain, thunder, and lightng.	Route to Atbara.
,, 12	Route to Atbara	74	85	107	85			
,, 13	Atbara (Khashinalgirba)	71	82	97	90 R.	...	...	Route to Shedereb.
,, 14	Route to Shedereb	62	80					
,, ,,	Plateau between Shedereb and Hasaballa	...	...	104				
,, ,,	Route to Hasaballa	...	...	...	92 R.			
,, 15	Hasaballa	60	80	103	92 R.	...	...	Route to Harakat.
,, 16	Route to Harakat	63R.	92 R.					
,, ,,	Under a tree, route to Hardab	...	...	99 R.	94 R.			
,, 17	Route to Sag-Abu-Sin	71R.						
,, ,,	Abu-Sin	...	90	97	92	...	...	Route to Kelat-al-Kaus.
,, 18	Kelat-al-Kaus							
,, ,,	Route to Waldalamass	73	87	97				
,, 19	,, ,,	55	...	...	81			
,, ,,	Waldalamass	..	83					
,, ,,	Under a tree	...	...	92				
,, ,,	Route to Medag	..	...	...	91			
,, 20	Medag	63						
,, ,,	,,	...	89					
,, ,,	Route	...	...	96				
,, ,,	Route to Saaffar	...	...	...	81			
,, 21	Route to Khol-al-Outros	60	82					
,, ,,	Under a tree (Khol-al-Outros	...	...	92				
,, ,,	Matemma	...	...	...	90			
,, 22	,,	63	83	94		Northerly breezes.		
,, 23	,,	...	...	...	...		Cloudy.	
,, 24	,,	...	...	...	...		Rain, thunder, and lightng.	
,, 25	,,	70	73	84	82			
,, 26	,,	59	66	85	82		Clear.	
,, 27	,,	55	67	80½	83	...	Clear, thunder and lightng.	
		Dry. Wet.	Dry. Wet.	Dry. Wet.	Dry. Wet.			
,, 28	,,	57 49	67 59	87 79	83 74		,,	
,, 29	,,	59½50	75 66	89½ 80	84½74	...	Slightly cloudy.	
,, 30	,,	60 50	74½ 68½	89 82	85 78	...	Clear.	
Dec. 1	,,	61 55	76 71	88½ 80	83 79	Winds variable from N.N.E. to N.W.	Clear.	
,, 2	,,	60 54	73 68	89 80	83 78½		Clear.	
,, 3	,,	59 53	73 68	89 80	83 78		Clear.	
,, 4	,,	59 54	75 69	91 82	84 79		Clear.	
,, 5	,,	61 55	77 70	93 84	89 80		Clear.	
,, 6	,,	62 56	78 72	95 85	91 82		Clear.	
,, 7	,,	62 56	78 73	96 85	92 83½		Clear.	Evening cloudy.
,, 8	,,	62 57	79 74	94 84	85 80		Clear.	
,, 9	,,							
,, 10	,,	61 58	76 70	93 85	85 80		Clear.	
,, 11	,,	65 63	80 74	93 85	85 80		Clear.	
,, 12	,,	65 61	80 74	93½ 85	85½80½		Clear.	
,, 13	,,	65 61	79 73½	95½ 84	85 80		Clear.	
,, 14	,,	62 57	81 74	94 84	84 79		Clear.	
,, 15	,,	63 59	79 72½	95 85	85 80			
,, 16	,,	60 54	83 74	95 83	88 80		Clear.	
,, 17	,,	60 54	79½ 73	99 88	85 78	Northerly winds; hot during day.	Hazy.	
,, 18	,,	61 55	85 77	94½ 84	85 78		Hazy.	
,, 19	,,	61 58	85 77½	95 84½	88 79		Hazy.	
,, 20	,,	60 56	75½ 73	95 89	88 79		Clear.	

Date.	Place.	Temperature.								Wind.	Wr.	Remarks.
		Sunrise.		9 A.M.		2 P.M.		Sunset.		Direction.		
		Dry.	Wet.	Dry.	Wet.	Dry.	Wet.	Dry.	Wet.			
1865.												
Dec. 21	Matemma	58	52	86	75	97	85	89	79	Northerly winds; hot during day.		
,, 22	,,	62	57	79	71	97½	86	90	80			
,, 23	,,	60	54	77	69	96	84	89	81			
,, 24	,,	57	52	79	78	94½	84½	87	80			
,, 25	,,	57	52	80	77	94½	84	87	75			
,, 26	,,	55	49	79	72	93	84	85	77			
,, 27	,,	53	48	79	72	93	84	85	77			
,, 28	*En route* to Daknenfeel	51	47	84		95		87				
,, 29	Route to Al Aradib	48										
,, ,,	Route to Kharallaila	...		80		92		87		Variable and light breezes.		
,, 30	Route to Wochnee	48		80								
,, ,,	Wochnee	...		...		86		79				
,, 31	,,	62		80								
,, ,,	Baloha	...		...		86		76				
1866.												
Jan. 1	,,	47		78		92		79				
,, 2	,,	52		80		92		79				
,, 3	,,	51		75		93		77				
,, 4	,,	52		78		95		77				
,, 5	,,	52		80		93		83				
,, 6	,,	53		73		90		84				
,, 7	,,	55		74								
,, ,,	Route to Sounka	...		...		95						
,, ,,	Sounka	...		...		...		82			Clear.	
,, 8	,, (under tree)	54		68		87		78		South-westerly breezes.	Clear.	
,, 9	,,	50		...		...		...			Clear.	
,, ,,	Route to Woorkin	...		71		...		...			Clear.	
,, ,,	Woorkin	...		...		92		...			Clear.	
,, ,,	Amaint	...		...		...		74			Clear.	
,, 10	,,	50		...		...		...			Clear.	
,, ,,	Route to Workedaba	...		80		...		...			Clear.	
,, ,,	Workedaba	...		...		77		56			Clear.	
,, 11	,,	51		78		86		60			Clear.	
,, 12	,, (under tree)	52		65		73		60				
,, 13	,, (route south)	51		70								
,, ,,	Route to Tankal	...		...		90						
,, ,,	Tankal	...		...		...		60				
,, 14	,, (route south)	41		66								
,, ,,	Route to Wanzige	...		...		88						
,, ,,	Wanzige	...		...		...		62				
,, 15	,,	47		76								
,, ,,	Goja	...		...		86		78				
,, 16	,,	51		66								
,, ,,	Route to Balassat	...		...		80						
,, ,,	Balassat	...		....		...		71				
,, 17	,,	41½										
,, ,,	Duegelbeer	...		66								
,, ,,	Kansa	...		...		89		66				
,, 18	,,	83		66		76		67				
,, 19	,,	53		66		75		65				
,, 20	,,	51		...		...		...				
,, ,,	Route to Dankora	...		74		...		...				
,, ,,	Dankora (route south)	...		...		72		66				
,, 21	,,	47		66		...		...			Clear	A shower sometimes in afternoon.
,, ,,	Nefaso (under tree)	...		...		74		67				
,, 22	,,	42		59		...		...				
,, ,,	Tumha, tree	...		...		72		65				
,, 23	,,	33		53		...		...				
,, ,,	Route to Quaquora	...		...		72		58				
,, 24	Quaquora	45		58		...		...				
,, ,,	Route to Baudje	...		...		74		...				
,, ,,	Baudje	...		...		...		60				
,, 25	,,	51		66		...		...			Rain.	
,, ,,	Route to Ajaber	...		...		76		...			Rain.	
,, ,,	Ajaber	...		...		...		67			Rain.	
,, 26	,,	50		65		79		65			Rain.	
,, 27	,,	50		65		...		...			Rain.	

Date.	Place.	Temperature.				Wind.	Wr.	Remarks.
		Sunrise.	9 A.M.	2 P.M.	Sunset.	Direction.		
1866.		Dry.	Dry.	Dry.	Dry.			
Jan. 27	Route to Danja	...	...	80	...		Rain.	
,, ,,	Danja	...	...	...	70	Wind south and south-east.	Rain.	
,, 28	,,	53	66	...	...		Rain.	
,, ,,	Aschfa	...	...	82	71		Rain.	
,, 29	,,	51	67	79	68		Rain.	
,, 30	,,	51	67	...	...		Rain.	
,, ,,	Sacala	...	...	79	68		Rain.	
,, 31	,,	53	...	...	...			
,, ,,	Route to Beefata	...	68	...	...			
,, ,,	Beefata	...	...	79	69			
Feb. 1	,,	53	69	74	66			
,, 2	,,	54	67	75	68			
,, 3	Flagitta	52	66	74	65		Rain.	
,, 4	,,	51	65	74	63			
,, 5	,,	52	66	...	...		Clear.	
,, ,,	Route to Samboa	...	...	80	68		Clear.	
,, 6	Samboa	52	67	...	...		Clear.	
,, ,,	Route to Zugda	...	...	81	72		Clear.	
,, 7	Zugda	51	66	79	67		Clear.	
,, 8	,,	51	66	...	...		Clear.	
,, ,,	Route to Nifaso	...	...	81	79		Clear.	
,, 9	Nifaso	51	66	...	...		Clear.	
,, ,,	Route to Simala	...	...	82	...		Clear.	
,, ,,	Simala	...	...	...	76		Clear.	
,, 10	,,	51	66	...	...		Clear.	
,, ,,	Route to Tsana	...	...	81	...		Clear.	
,, ,,	Tsana	...	...	...	77		Clear.	
,, 11	,,	49	67	79	68		Clear.	
,, 12	,,	48	65	78	66		Clear.	
,, 13	On Tanaleo	53	66	81	...		Clear.	
,, ,,	Dek	...	...	...	65		Clear.	
,, 14	Tanaleo	51	71	...	...			
,, ,,	Kourata, house	...	...	72	66			
,, 15	,,	60	63	71	66			
,, 16	,,	59	63	69	65			
,, 17	,,	59	63	70	65			
,, 18	,,	59	62	69	64			
,, 19	,,	59	63	...	...			
,, ,,	Kourata, beach, in tent	...	...	73	69			
,, 20	,, ,,	60	64	71	67		Cloudy.	
,, 21	,, ,,	60	64	71	67	South and south-west breezes.	Cloudy, rain slight.	
,, 22	,, ,,	59	63	69½	65		Clear, rain slight.	
,, 23	,, ,,	59	64	70	65		Clear.	
,, 24	,, ,,	60	66	75	69		Clear.	
,, 25	,, ,,	58	69	77	71		Clear.	
,, 26	,, ,,	59	70	79	74		Clear.	
,, 27	,, ,,	57	77	80	76		Clear.	
,, 28	,, ,,	57	70	79	75		Clear.	
Mar. 1	,, ,,	58	69	85	75		Clear.	
,, 2	,, ,,	56	69	82	74		Clear.	
,, 3	,, ,,	55	69	77	75		Clear.	
,, 4	,, ,,	53	62	78	75		Clear.	
,, 5	,, ,,	53	62	75½	74	South and south-west winds.	Cloudy.	
,, 6	,, ,,	53	69	77	75		Clear.	
,, 7	,, ,,	55	68	78	75		Clear.	
,, 8	,, ,,	55	69	79	76		Clear.	
,, 9	,, ,,	56	69	79	75		Clear.	
,, 10	,, ,,	56	72	80	77		Clear.	
,, 11	,, ,,	58	70	78	75		Cloudy.	
,, 12	,, ,,	59	67	74	73		Clear.	
,, 13	,, ,,	60	67	79	77		Clear.	
,, 14	,, ,,	52	70	79	77		Clear.	
,, 15	,, ,,	54	70	77	75		Clear.	
,, 16	,, ,,	55	69	78	77		Cloudy.	

Date.	Place.	Temperature. Sunrise.	9 A.M.	2 P.M.	Sunset.	Wind. Direction.	Wr.	Remarks.
1866.		Dry.	Dry.	Dry.	Dry.			
Mar. 17	Kourata, beach, in tent	53	70	87	76		Clear.	
„ 18	„ „	56	74	83	77		Cloudy.	
„ 19	„ „	60	73	78	76		Cloudy.	
„ 20	„ in tent	60	65	78	76		Clear.	
„ 21	„ „	57	62	75½	73		Clear.	
„ 22	„ „	57	64	76	72		Clear.	
„ 23	„ „	56	69	74	70		Clear.	
„ 24	„ „	55	69	75	71		Cloudy.	
„ 25	Zagé, in tent	56	on Tana Sea.	99	85		Clear.	
„ 26	„ „	47	72	94	84		Clear.	
„ 27	Kourata, in tent	56	70	77	73		Clear.	
„ 28	„ „	62	77	84	80		Clear.	
„ 29	„ „	59	68	80	76		Clear.	
„ 30	„ „	60	70	82	75		Clear.	
„ 31	„ „	60	73	85	78		Clear.	
April 1	„ „	62	74	83	77		Cloudy.	
„ 2	„ „	61	73	84	76		Clear.	
„ 3	„ „	64	74	83	72		Clear.	
„ 4	„ „	63	73	83	72		Clear.	
„ 5	„ „	56	70	78	79		Clear.	
„ 6	„ „	56	71	79	73		Clear.	
„ 7	„ „	55	69	78	74		Clear.	
„ 8	„ „	54	68	76	79		Clear.	
„ 9	„ „	55	71	75	73		Clear.	
„ 10	„ „	57	73	76	74		Clear.	
„ 11	„ „	57	73	76	74		Clear.	
„ 12	„ „	55	72	75	71		Clear.	
„ 13	„ „	56	73	81	85		Clear.	
„ 14	Zagé, small tent	45	98	107	84		Clear.	
„ 15	„ „	60	80	115	84		Clear.	
„ 16	„ our tent	65	75	93	83		Clear.	
„ 17	„ „	62	73	94	83		Clear.	
„ 18	„	67	83	93	82		Clear.	
„ 19	„	66	82	94	85		Clear.	
„ 20	„	67	81	90	83		Clear.	
„ 21	„	66	85	91	84		Cloudy.	
„ 22	„	65	73	86	79		Clear.	
„ 23	„	61	75	83	78		Clear.	
„ 24	„	65	77	88	79		Clear.	
„ 25	„	66	78	83	75		Clear	Flies.
„ 26	„	65	77	83	74		Clear.	
„ 27	„	50	80	86	73		Clear	Fog at night.
„ 28	„	55	79	85	74		Clear.	
„ 29	„	56	82	86	79		Clear.	
„ 30	„	62	83	85	79		Clear.	
May 1	„	61	80	87	80		Clear.	
„ 2	„	63	73	85	79		Cloudy.	
„ 3	„	64	75	80	76		Cloudy.	
„ 4	„	64	73	80	76		Clear.	
„ 5	„	66	73	84	76		Cloudy.	
„ 6	„	65	74	83	76		Cloudy.	
„ 7	„	63	73	84	77		Cloudy.	
„ 8	„	65	74	85	76		Cloudy.	
„ 9	„	66	75	85	75		Cloudy	Rain at night.
„ 10	„	58	65	76	70		Cloudy	Slight rain at night.
„ 11	„	59	67	77	72		Cloudy	„ „ „
„ 12	„	59	68	80	74		Clear	„ „ „
„ 13	„	65	70	82	76		Clear	„ „ „
„ 14	„	60	72	84	77		Clear	Rain at night.
„ 15	„	69	70	79	75		Cloudy	Slight rain at night.
„ 16	„	58	75	83	78		Cloudy	Thunder, lightning, and rain at night.
„ 17	„	61	74	80	73		Cloudy	Thunder, lightning, and heavy rain at night.
„ 18	„	58	68	83	74		Cloudy	Slight rain in evening.

South and south-west winds.

Easterly winds.

N.E. and E. wind.

Date.	Place.	Temperature. Sunrise.	9 A.M.	2 P.M.	Sunset.	Wind. Direction.	Wr.	Remarks.
1866.		Dry.	Dry.	Dry.	Dry.			
May 19	Zagé	58	67½	78	73	North-east and east wind.	Cloudy	Heavy rain at night.
,, 20	,,	60	65	83	76		Cloudy	Slight rain at night.
,, 21	,,	65	72	84	77		Cloudy	,, ,, ,,
,, 22	,,	65	73	85	73		Clear	,, ,, ,,
,, 23	,,	64	72	85	74		Clear	,, ,, ,,
,, 24	,,	64	73	84	76		Cloudy	Heavy rain at night.
,, 25	,,	60	70	77	64		Cloudy	,, ,, ,,
,, 26	,,	60	66	79	72		Cloudy	Rain at night.
,, 27	,,	63	69	83	76		Cloudy.	
,, 28	,,	64	71	82	75		Cloudy	Slight rain at night.
,, 29	,,	64	71	82	75		Cloudy	Slight rain.
,, 30	,,	62	67	81	73		Cloudy	,, ,,
,, 31	,,	62	70	82	Tana Sea		Cloudy	Heavy rain, thunder, and lightning.
June 1	Kourata, house	...	...	...	...		Cloudy.	
,, 2	,, ,,	70	73	81 tent	74		Cloudy	Rain at night.
,, 3	,,	61	70 house	74	67		Cloudy	King's arrival.
,, 4	,,	63	69	75	73		Cloudy	King's departure. Rain at night.
,, 5	,,	68	69	73	71		Cloudy.	
,, 6	,,	69	71	74	70		Cloudy	Rain, thunder, and lightning.
,, 7	,,	67	70	73	71		Cloudy	Rain at night.
,, 8	,,	68	71	73½	71		Cloudy	,, ,,
,, 9	,,	67	70	74	70	North-east wind.	Clear.	
,, 10	,,	68	71	74	71		Clear.	
,, 11	,,	69	71	74	71		Clear.	
,, 12	Left for camp	69	71	74	68 Camp		Clear.	
,, 13	Camp, route to Goumarou Tagagu	64	79	79	65		Clear.	
,, 14	Goumarou	64	Route	75	...		Clear.	
,, ,,	Outoo		...	...	65		Clear.	
,, 15	,,	57	Route	Route	...		Cloudy.	
,, ,,	Gaffat	..	...	...	64		Cloudy.	
,, 16	Gaffat, house	58	62	68	64		Rain.	
,, 17	,, ,,	58	63	69	63		Rain.	
,, 18	,, ,,	58	63	68	61		Cloudy.	
,, 19	House on hill near Gaffat	57	64	69	62		Rain.	
,, 20	,, ,,	57	64	69	58		Rain	
,, 21	,, ,,	59	64	67	60		Rain.	
,, 22	,, ,,	57	62	65	60		Rain.	
,, 23	,, ,,	59	63	68	61		Rain.	
,, 24	,, ,,	57	62	68	62		Rain.	
,, 25	Gaffat, Waldmeier's house	59	62	69	62			
,, 26	,, ,, ,,	59	64	65	62		Rain.	
,, 27	,, ,, ,,	62	66	64	62		Rain.	
,, 28	,, ,, ,,	62	66	65	61		Rain.	
,, 29	,, ,, ,,	62	64	68	63		Rain.	
,, 30	,, ,, ,,	61	62	65	61		Rain.	
July 1	,, ,, ,,	61	62	64	60		Rain.	
,, 2	,, ,, ,,	62	63	64	61		Rain.	
,, 3	,, ,, ,,	62	Debra-tabor	...	...		Rain, hail-storm.	
,, 4	Debra-tabor	60	62	63	61		Rain.	
,, 5	,,	59	62	Tan-medar				
,, 6	Tanmedar	54	55	Route	52			
,, 7	Kulkaliko	51	57	Route	49			
,, 8	Eibaukab	49	62	65	52			
,, 9	,,	52						
,, ,,	Route	...	62	66	...			
,, ,,	Argebia	...	...	...	63			
,, 10	,,	60	85 Noon	Route	...	South wind.	Rain.	
,, ,,	Magnat	...	...	...	64		Rain.	
,, 11	,,	57	74 Noon	Route	...		Rain.	
,, ,,	Assoul	...	...	...	63		Rain.	

Date.	Place.	Temperature. Sunrise.	9 A.M.	2 P.M.	Sunset.	Wind. Direction.	Wr.	Remarks.
1866.		Dry	Dry.	Dry.	Dry.			
July 12	Assoul	61	76	Route	...			
,, ,,	Magdala	...	...	...	55			
,, 13	,,	54	67	...	55		Hail-storm.	
,, 14	,,	51	72	...	55		Hail-storm.	
,, 15	,,	47	71	...	54			
,, 16	,,	49	63	74	65		Hail, slight rain.	
,, 17	,,	52	63	72	63			
,, 18	,,	55	64	67	58		Thunder, lightng., rain at night.	
,, 19	,,	52	58	62	56	South wind.	Rain at night.	
,, 20	,,	52	57	62	57		Slight rain.	
,, 21	,,	53	57	62	60		Rain.	
,, 22	,,	53	57	62	57		Rain at night.	
,, 23	,,	52	56	62	55		Rain.	
,, 24	,,	47	54	61	53		Rain.	
,, 25	,,	47	54	61	51		Rain.	
,, 26	,,	46	50	60	54		Rain.	
,, 27	,,	47	51	58	55		Rain.	
,, 28	,,	47	52	62	56		Rain.	
,, 29	,,	48	51	64	55		Rain.	
,, 30	,,	47	52	68	55		No rain.	
,, 31	,,	48	55	68	57		Rain at night.	
Aug. 1	,,	49	55	61	55		Cloudy	Rain day and night.
,, 2	,,	47	55	65	56		Cloudy	Rain at night.
,, 3	,,	47	53	64	55		Cloudy	Rain day-time.
,, 4	,,	49	52	63	54		Cloudy	,, ,,
,, 5	,,	47	53	69	57		Cloudy	,, ,,
,, 6	,,	48	54	72	59		Cloudy	,, ,,
,, 7	,,	49	55	71	58		Cloudy	,, ,,
,, 8	,,	47	53	63	55		Cloudy	Rain at night.
,, 9	,,	49	56	68	54		Cloudy	,, ,,
,, 10	,,	47	55	67	61		Cloudy	,, ,,
,, 11	,,	48	55	72	57		Cloudy	,, ,,
,, 12	,,	47	56	68	54		Cloudy	,, ,,
,, 13	,,	48	57	63	56		Cloudy	,, ,,
,, 14	,,	48	56	62	55		Cloudy	,, ,,
,, 15	,,	47	54	62	57		Cloudy	,, ,,
,, 16	,,	49	55	62	57		Cloudy	,, ,,
,, 17	,,	52	56	53	57	Wind variable, S.S. by W. and S. W.	Cloudy	Clear day. Rain at night.
,, 18	,,	52	55	62	56		Cloudy	Day no rain. Night much.
,, 19	,,	52	64	70	65		Cloudy.	
,, 20	,,	52	64	65	63		Cloudy	,, ,,
,, 21	,,	52	63	68	61			Rain at night.
,, 22	,,	52	60	65	62			Rain.
,, 23	,,	53	61	68	63			Slight rain.
,, 24	,,	52	59	65	62			At night rain.
,, 25	,,	54	60	74	68			Slight rain.
,, 26	,,	53	61	73	66		Fair	Heavy storm at night.
,, 27	,,	53	61	73	67			,, ,, ,,
,, 28	,,	54	60	64	61		Showery.	
,, 29	,,	55	60	67	61		Rainy	Heavy rain at night.
,, 30	,,	54	58	63	60		Rainy	,, ,, ,,
,, 31	,,	53	58	67	61		Rainy.	
Sept. 1	,,	55	60	67	63		Rainy.	
,, 2	,,	55	61	67	62		Cloudy	Rain at night.
,, 3	,,	56	61	66	63		Cloudy	Slight rain.

Date.	Place.	Temperature.				Wind.	Wr.	Remarks.
		Sunrise.	9 A.M.	2 P.M.	Sunset.	Direction.		
1866.		Dry.	Dry.	Dry.	Dry.			
Sept. 4	Mágdala	56	59	65	62	South-east wind.	Clear	No rain.
„ 5	„	54	58	67	64		Clear	„ „
„ 6	„	55	60	64	61		Clear	„ „
„ 7	„	55	63	66	62		Clear	„ „
„ 8	„	55	63	67	61		Cloudy	„ „
„ 9	„	56	60	66	62		Cloudy	„ „
„ 10	„	55	60	64	61		Cloudy.	
„ 11	„	54	60	63	60	Easterly winds.	Cloudy.	
„ 12	„	55	60	65	61		Cloudy	Slight rain.
„ 13	„	55	61	66	61		Cloudy	„ „
„ 14	„	54	61	66	62		Clear	„ „
„ 15	„	55	60	65	61		Clear	No rain.
„ 16	„	55	60	67	62		Clear	„ „
„ 17	„	51	60	66	60		Clear	„ „
			in sun	in sun	in sun			
„ 18	„	51	95	98	55		Clear	„ „
„ 19	„	44	90	98	56		Clear	Fine.
„ 20	„	44	90	97	55		Clear	„
„ 21	„	43	88	94	51		Clear	„
			shade	shade	shade			
„ 22	„	43	60	64	66		Clear	„
„ 23	„	47	61	63	60		Cloudy	„
„ 24	„	46	60	64	60		Cloudy	Rain at night.
„ 25	„	47	61	63	60		Clear	Fine.
„ 26	„	47	61	65	58		Clear.	
„ 27	„	48	60	64	59	Wind north and north-east.	Clear.	
„ 28	„	47	60	63	59		Clear.	
„ 29	„	48	61	64	55		Clear.	
„ 30	„	47	60	63	58		Clear.	
Oct. 1	„	47	60	64	57			
„ 2	„	48	61	63	57			
„ 3	„	47	61	64	58		...	
„ 4	„	47	61	65	60			
„ 5	„	47	60	64	58		Clear	Fine.
„ 6	„	47	60	64	55		Clear	„
„ 7	„	47	61	65	56		Clear	„
„ 8	„	48	61	70	56		Clear	„
„ 9	„	47	61½	65	59		Cloudy	„
„ 10	„	47	59	60	54		Cloudy	Rain.
„ 11	„	48	60	65	57		Clear	Fine.
„ 12	„	47	59	66	56		Clear	„
„ 13	„	47	60	63	54		Clear	„
„ 14	„	46	56	67	56		Clear	„
„ 15	„	47	59	64	57		Clear	„
„ 16	„	47	58	63	55		Clear	„
„ 17	„	47	61	67	56		Clear	„
„ 18	„	45	62	71	58		Clear	„
„ 19	„	45	60	70	56		Clear	„
„ 20	„	46	61	71	56		Clear	„
„ 21	„	45	60	70	56		Clear	„
„ 22	„	47	61	69	55		Clear	„
„ 23	„	45	60	68	53		Cloudy.	
„ 24	„	47	61	65	52		Cloudy	Rainy.
„ 25	„	45	60	69	53		Cloudy	„
„ 26	„	46	60	66	51		Clear.	
„ 27	„	47	61	67	52		Clear.	
„ 28	„	47	60	65	53		Clear.	
„ 29	„	45	61	67	55		Clear.	
„ 30	„	43	60	68	52			
„ 31	„	42	60	67	55			
Nov. 1	„	42	60	67	55			
„ 2	„	44	61	66	53			
„ 3	„	44	61	66	53			
„ 4	„	44	60	66	57			
„ 5	„	43	61	70	56		...	
„ 6	„	44	60	71	55			
„ 7	„	44	60	60	56		Clear.	

Date.	Place.	Temperature.				Wind.	Wr.	Remarks.
		Sunrise.	9 A.M.	2 P.M.	Sunset.	Direction.		
1866		Dry.	Dry.	Dry.	Dry.			
Nov. 8	Mágdala	45	60	67	56	Wind north and north-east.	Clear.	
,, 9	,,	44	61	67	55			
,, 10	,,	44	61	68	55			
,, 11	,,	44	60	67	54			
,, 12	,,	42	58	66	54			
,, 13	,,	40	55	64	53			
,, 14	,,	38	53	61	49			
,, 15	,,	38	54	63	49			
,, 16	,,	33	55	65	50			
,, 17	,,	35	55	66	51			
,, 18	,,	42	55	65	52			
,, 19	,,	42	54	66	53			
,, 20	,,	42	55	65	53			
,, 21	,,	36	55	67	54			
,, 22	,,	37	55	66	53			
,, 23	,,	40	55	67	53			
,, 24	,,	42	55	66	54			
,, 25	,,	42	55	67	54			
,, 26	,,	41	55	67	53			
,, 27	,,	42	54	64	52			
,, 28	,,	40	54	64	52			
,, 29	,,	39	55	66	53			
,, 30	,,	39	55	66	52			
Dec. 1	,,	37	54	66	51			
,, 2	,,	34	54	66	52			
,, 3	,,	33	55	67	55		Cloudy.	
,, 4	,,	41	56	65	55	Wind north-east.	Cloudy.	
,, 5	,,	38	58	66	54		Cloudy.	
,, 6	,,	38	58	68	57		Cloudy.	
,, 7	,,	40	57	70	58			
,, 8	,,	44	60	65	52			
,, 9	,,	40	58	66	52			
,, 10	,,	40	58	65	53		Clear.	
,, 11	,,	41	56	65	52			
,, 12	,,	41	55	64	52			
,, 13	,,	40	53	65	53			
,, 14	,,	43	55	66	52			
,, 15	,,	44	56	65	53			
,, 16	,,	43	55	66	52			
,, 17	,,	42	56	65	53			
,, 18	,,	41	57	67	54			
,, 19	,,	45	57	68	54			
,, 20	,,	41	55	67	53	Wind north and north-east.	...	
,, 21	,,	41	55	64	53		...	
,, 22	,,	42	56	66	54		...	
,, 23	,,	42	56	67	54			
,, 24	,,	43	55	69	55			
,, 25	,,	42	54	67	54			
,, 26	,,	44	55	70	56			
,, 27	,,	43	55	69	55			
,, 28	,,	42	53	67	54		...	
,, 29	,,	43	55	68	55			
,, 30	,,	44	56	71	56		...	Rain. Food to Unu servant.
,, 31	,,	44	56	65	53			
1867.							Cloudy	Rain at night.
Jan. 1	,,	45	57	69	53		Cloudy	,, ,,
,, 2	,,	43	52	70	51		Cloudy	,, ,,
,, 3	,,	45	53	65	52	Wind east.	Cloudy.	
,, 4	,,	46	53	68	55		Clear.	
,, 5	,,	49	56	70	53		Clear.	
,, 6	,,	47	56	70	54		Cloudy	Arrival of H. S. M. letters and Ras Suggedah; one from Colonel Merewether.
,, 7	,,	47	56	70	53			

Date.	Place.	Temperature. Sunrise.	9 A.M.	2 P.M.	Sunset.	Wind. Direction.	Wr.	Remarks.
1867.		Dry.	Dry.	Dry.	Dry.			
Jan. 8.	Mágdala	46	57	66	52	Wind east.	Cloudy	Slight rain.
,, 9	,,	47	56	67	53		Cloudy	Rain at night.
,, 10	,,	47	60	65	54		Cloudy.	
,, 11	,,	46	60	68	53		Cloudy.	
,, 12	,,	47	56	63	51		Cloudy	Rain and lightning.
,, 13	,,	47	55	64	52		Cloudy	,, ,,
,, 14	,,	46	53	64	52		Cloudy.	
,, 15	,,	47	54	63	52			
,, 16	,,	46	55	66	54		Clear.	
,, 17	,,	47	55	67	53			
,, 18	,,	47	56	69	55		...	Arrival of press. Date 28th Oct.
,, 19	,,	48	55	68	54		Cloudy.	
,, 20	,,	47	56	61	54	Wind east and south-east.	Cloudy	Rain.
,, 21	,,	46	57	66	54		Cloudy	Heavy rain at night.
,, 22	,,	47	56	64	54		Cloudy	,, ,,
,, 23	,,	46	55	63	52		Cloudy	Misty and rainy.
,, 24	,,	45	53	61	53		Cloudy	Heavy rain and hurricane at night.
,, 25	,,	45	52	62	53		Cloudy	Slight rain.
,, 26	,,	44	52	63	53		Clear and cloudy.	
,, 27	,,	45	53	64	52		Clear and cloudy.	
,, 28	,,	46	54	65	53		Clear.	
,, 29	,,	45	54	67	54		Clear.	
,, 30	,,	46	55	66	53		Clear.	
,, 31	,,	47	55	64	52		Clear.	
Feb. 1	,,	45	53	66	52		Clear.	
,, 2	,,	41	51	64	51		Clear.	
,, 3	,,	41	52	64	53		Clear.	
,, 4	,,	42	53	65	52		Clear.	
,, 5	,,	43	54	65	52		Clear.	
,, 6	,,	41	52	64	53			
,, 7	,,	42	53	64	53			
,, 8	,,	44	55	66	54			
,, 9	,,	45	56	67	54	Wind north and north by east.		
,, 10	,,	47	55	68	55			
,, 11	,,	47	56	70	54			
,, 12	,,	47	56	69	53			
,, 13	,,	46	55	70	55			
,, 14	,,	47	56	70	53			
,, 15	,,	46	55	69	54		Clear.	
,, 16	,,	47	56	69½	55			
,, 17	,,	48	55	69	54			
,, 18	,,	46	56	70	54			
,, 19	,,	48	55	71	55	Wind south and south-east.	Rain.	
,, 20	,,	47	56	71	55			
,, 21	,,	47	56	70	55			
,, 22	,,	48	56	71	53			
,, 23	,,	47	55	72	56			
,, 24	,,	48	55	71	55			
,, 25	,,	47	53	71	53			
,, 26	,,	47	52	70	55			
,, 27	,,	48	55	70	53			
,, 28	,,	49	55	71	52			
Mar. 1	,,	48	55	72	56			
,, 2	,,	50	56	72	56		Cloudy	Slight rain at night.
,, 3	,,	49	56	70	57			
,, 4	,,	49	56	71	56	S. and S.W. breezes.		Slight rain.
,, 5	,,	49	55	70	56			,, ,,
,, 6	,,	47	55	68	56			,, ,,
,, 7	,,	47	55	67	55			,, ,,
,, 8	,,	47	55	66	56			Rain.
,, 9	,,	46	55	66	55			Rain.
,, 10	,,	47	55	66	56		Cloudy.	
,, 11	,,	47	55	65	55		Rain.	
,, 12	,,	46	55	66	55			

Date.	Place.	Temperature. Sunrise.	9 A.M.	2 P.M.	Sunset.	Wind. Direction.	Wr.	Remarks.
1867.		Dry.	Dry.	Dry.	Dry.			
Mar. 13	Mágdala	47	55	66	53			
,, 14	,,	47	55	66	53			Slight rain.
,, 15	,,	46	55	67	54			
,, 16	,,	47	53	62	53			
,, 17	,,	47	53	62	53			
,, 18	,,	47	55	65	62			
,, 19	,,	47	50	74	52			
,, 20	,,	51	66	74	57			Thermometer.
,, 21	,,	51	66	74	57		Cloudy.	
,, 22	,,	52	66	76	63		Cloudy.	
,, 23	,,	53	66	77	63		Clear.	
,, 24	,,	54	66	74	62		Cloudy.	
,, 25	,,	54	66	72	63		Cloudy.	
,, 26	,,	51	65	68	59		Cloudy.	
,, 27	,,	51	65	69	59		Cloudy.	
,, 28	,,	50	66	72	61		Cloudy.	Slight rain.
,, 29	,,	50	65	73	62		Clear.	
,, 30	,,	48	63	74	62		Clear.	
,, 31	,,	49	62	74	62		Clear.	
April 1	,,	49	62	73	63		Clear.	
,, 2	,,	50	64	75	64		Clear.	
,, 3	,,	47	63	74	63		Clear	Rain.
,, 4	,,	48	63	76	63			
,, 5	,,	50	67	78	64			
,, 6	,,	51	68	80	64			
,, 7	,,	52	65	82	64			
,, 8	,,	51	64	82½	64		Clear.	
,, 9	,,	52	69	81	63		Clear.	
,, 10	,,	50	68	82	63		Clear.	
,, 11	,,	50	64	78	63		Clear.	
,, 12	,,	50	63	77	63		Clear.	
,, 13	,,	50	63	78	63		Clear.	
,, 14	,,	50	64	79	63½		Clear.	
,, 15	,,	51	65	80	64		Clear.	
,, 16	,,	51	65	81	63			
,, 17	,,	49	65	76	63			
,, 18	,,	50	65	75	63			
,, 19	,,	50	65	76	63		Cloudy.	
,, 20	,,	50	63	75	62		Cloudy.	
,, 21	,,	51	64	82	64		Clear.	
,, 22	,,	50	65	81	63		Clear.	
,, 23	,,	50	63	79	56	Northerly breezes.	Cloudy	Heavy rain.
,, 24	,,	49	63	74	51		Cloudy	
,, 25	,,	50	64	73	52		Cloudy.	
,, 26	,,	52	63	72	53			
,, 27	,,	52	63	75	54		Clear.	
,, 28	,,	54	65	79	54		Clear.	
,, 29	,,	54	65	80	54			
,, 30	,,	55	66	80	54	Wind N.E.	Clear.	
May 1	,,	53	64	78	54		Clear.	
,, 2	,,	54	65	79	58		Clear.	
,, 3	,,	55	66	78	64		Cloudy	Rain.
,, 4	,,	53	63	73	52		Clear.	
,, 5	,,	61	67	79	65		Clear.	
,, 6	,,	62	67	80	65		Clear.	
,, 7	,,	63	67	80	63		Cloudy.	
,, 8	,,	62	66	78	63	Wind north.	Cloudy.	
,, 9	,,	61	65	75	62		Clear.	
,, 10	,,	61	66	79	63		Cloudy.	
,, 11	,,	54	64	78	64		Cloudy	Rain at night.
,, 12	,,	53	63	74	63		Clear	High wind. Dusty.
,, 13	,,	51	63	75	63		Clear	,, ,,
,, 14	,,	52	63	73	63		Clear.	
,, 15	,,	52	64	74	63		Clear	High wind.
,, 16	,,	52	63	79	63		Clear	,, Dusty.
,, 17	,,	55	64	77	64		Clear.	
,, 18	,,	53	66	80	65		Clear	Cholera.
,, 19	,,	54	67	81	65			

Date.	Place.	Temperature.				Wind.	Wr.	Remarks.
		Sunrise.	9 A.M.	2 P.M.	Sunset.	Direction.		
1867.		Dry.	Dry.	Dry.	Dry.			
May 20	Mágdala	53	66	77	63		Cloudy.	
,, 21	,,	57	68	81	64		Clear.	
,, 22	,,	56	66	79	64		...	Rain.
,, 23	,,	55	66	78	63			
,, 24	,,	53	65	77	63			
,, 25	,,	54	66	77	63			
,, 26	,,	55	67	80	64			
,, 27	,,	55	66	81	63			
,, 28	,,	56	71	80	63		Clear.	115 sun.
,, 29	,,	56	73	81	64		Clear.	
,, 30	,,	56	74	82	64		...	116 ,,
,, 31	,,	56	74	82	64			
June 1	,,	55	73	83	65		Cloudy and clear	Close.
,, 2	,,	55	62	76	63		...	Slight rain in morning.
,, 3	,,	53	62	74	62		Cloudy.	
,, 4	,,	51	62	71	62		Cloudy	Slight rain.
,, 5	,,	52	62	72	62		Cloudy.	
,, 6	,,	51	63	74	63		Cloudy.	
,, 7	,,	52	63	71	61		Clear and cloudy.	
,, 8	,,	51	64	71	62		Cloudy and damp	Neuralgia at ... throat.
,, 9	,,	49	56	63	60		Cloudy.	Rain at night.
,, 10	,,	49	53	61	58			
,, 11	,,	51	58	67	60		Cloudy.	
,, 12	,,	52	58	68	63		...	Rain.
,, 13	,,	53	62	74	63		Clear.	
,, 14	,,	55	67	78	64		Clear.	
,, 15	,,	54	66	79	64		Clear.	
,, 16	,,	55	67	79	63		Clear.	
,, 17	,,	53	66	78	63		Cloudy.	
,, 18	,,	54	67	79	64		Cloudy.	
,, 19	,,	53	66	78	63		Cloudy.	
,, 20	,,	53	64	77	68		Cloudy.	
,, 21	,,	55	66	80	64		Clear.	
,, 22	,,	55	65	80	64		Clear.	
,, 23	,,	55	64	79	63		Cloudy.	
,, 24	,,	54	63	76	63		Cloudy	Rain at night.
,, 25	,,	53	62	77	63	Wind variable.	Clear and cloudy.	
,, 26	,,	55	64	74	64	Wind variable.	Clear and cloudy.	
,, 27	,,	55	65	74	62	Wind variable.	Clear.	
,, 28	,,	55	64	75	63	Wind variable.	Clear.	
,, 29	,,	53	64	75	63	Wind variable.	Clear.	
,, 30	,,	53	63	74	62	Wind variable.	Clear.	
July 1	,,	53	62	74	63	Wind variable.	Clear.	
,, 2	,,	53	63	74	63		Clear.	
,, 3	,,	54	61	69	62		Cloudy	Rain.
,, 4	,,	55	63	67	60		Cloudy	Rain at night.
,, 5	,,	54	60	70	61		Cloudy	Heavy rain at night.
,, 6	,,	53	57	73	62		Cloudy	Rain at night.
,, 7	,,	53	57	70	59		Cloudy	Strong wind; slight rain.
,, 8	,,	52	58	72	59		Cloudy	Rain at night.
,, 9	,,	51	60	68	58	Westerly.	Cloudy	Thunder. Heavy rain at night.
,, 10	,,	47	58	70	59	Westerly.	Cloudy	Heavy rain at night.
,, 11	,,	48	54	68	58	Westerly.	...	Rain morn. Slight. rain at night.
,, 12	,,	50	56	69	57		Showery	Heavy rain at night.

Date.	Place.	Temperature.				Wind	Wr.	Remarks.
		Sunrise.	9 A.M.	2 P.M.	Sunset.	Direction.		
1867.		Dry.	Dry.	Dry.	Dry.			
July 13	Mágdala	48	55	70	58		Cloudy	No rain.
„ 14	„	49	54	70	58		Cloudy	Slight rain at night.
„ 15	„	51	60	69	58		Cloudy	Heavy rain at night.
„ 16	„	48	59	70	59		...	Slight rain in evening.
„ 17	„	51	61	73	61		Cloudy	No rain.
„ 18	„	52	63	73	61		...	„
„ 19	„	52	63	71	62		Cloudy.	
„ 20	„	51	63	70	61		...	Rain at night.
„ 21	„	49	60	63	57		Showery	„ „
„ 22	„	48	52	70	60		Slight shower (day)	„ „
„ 23	„	47	54	67	58		Cloudy	„ „
„ 24	„	50	55	63	58		...	„ „
„ 25	„	49	54	58	56		Showery	Rain and lightning at night.
„ 26	„	51	57	63	59		Cloudy	Rain at night.
„ 27	„	50	58	64	59		Clear	No rain.
„ 28	„	52	62	65	57		Showery	No rain at night.
„ 29	„	50	62	70	59		Showery	Slight rain at night.
[illegible]	„	52	58	65	59		Rainy	„ „ „
„ 31	„	50	56	67	68		Cloudy	Heavy rain a night.
Aug. 1	„	50	55	66	57		Cloudy	No rain.
„ 2	„	51	56	68	59		Cloudy	Rain at night.
„ 3	„	49	55	67	58		Showery	„ „
„ 4	„	50	56	68	58		Showery	„ „
„ 5	„	51	56	69	58		...	„ „
„ 6	„	51	56	70	59		...	„ „
„ 7	„	51	61	70	60		Cloudy	Showery evening.
„ 8	„	53	65	75	60		Clear	No rain.
„ 9	„	52	66	77	63		Clear	Rain at night.
„ 10	„	53	65	75	60		Clear	„ „
„ 11	„	52	63	66	59		Cloudy	Showery night.
„ 12	„	51	60	63	58		Cloudy	Showery.
„ 13	„	49	58	63	57		Cloudy	Rain day and night.
„ 14	„	49	56	64	57		Cloudy	„ „
„ 15	„	48	55	64	57		...	„ „
„ 16	„	48	55	65	57		...	„ „
„ 17	„	49	55	65	57		...	„ „
„ 18	„	48	54	67	58		...	Showers.
„ 19	„	57	62	70	59		Clear.	
„ 20	„	52	64	72	60		Clear.	
„ 21	„	52	63	69	57		Showery	
„ 22	„	51	63	70	60		Showery	
„ 23	„	54	64	70	60		Showery	
„ 24	„	51	60	67	57		Cloudy	Rain.
„ 25	„	50	64	68	56		Cloudy	„
„ 26	„	51	66	70	59		Clear.	
„ 27	„	49	58	67	57		Cloudy	Showery.
„ 28	„	52	61	72	59		Clear.	
„ 29	„	49	62	73	61		Clear	Slight rain.
„ 30	„	49	55	71	56		...	Showery.
„ 31	„	53	64	70	59		...	„
Sept. 1	„	53	64	70	59		Clear	Slight rain at night.
„ 2	„	54	62	70	55		Cloudy	Showery.
„ 3	„	52	60	63	54		Cloudy	„
„ 4	„	52	61	63	55		Cloudy	Rain day and night.
„ 5	„	52	59	64	56		Cloudy.	
„ 6	„	49	57	63	56		Cloudy	Heavy rain at night.
„ 7	„	49	55	63	57	Wind south-west.	Cloudy	Rain at night.

Date.	Place.	Temperature.				Wind.	Wr.	Remarks.
		Sunrise	9 A.M.	2 P.M.	Sunset.	Direction.		
1867.		Dry.	Dry.	Dry.	Dry.			
Sept. 8	Mágdala	49	56	65	57		Cloudy	Showers.
,, 9	,,	49	55	64	57		Clear.	
,, 10	,,	49	56	65	57		Clear.	
,, 11	,,	49	56	65	58		Clear.	
,, 12	,,	52	62	70	61		Cloudy.	
,, 13	,,	52	63	71	62		Cloudy	Showers.
,, 14	,,	53	63	71	62		Clear.	
,, 15	,,	53	65	71	61		Clear.	
,, 16	,,	53	64	71	62		Clear	Rain at night.
,, 17	,,	53	64	72	63		Clear.	
,, 18	,,	53	64	70	58		Clear and cloudy.	
,, 19	,,	50	61	70	59		Clear.	
,, 20	,,	49	61	70	58		Clear.	
,, 21	,,	51	60	66	59		Clear.	
,, 22	,,	50	62	67	59		Clear.	
,, 23	,,	51	61	69	60		Clear.	
,, 24	,,	51	62	70	60		Clear	
,, 25	,,	51	62	68	61		Clear.	
,, 26	,,	50	62	68	60		Clear.	
,, 27	,,	51	61	67	59		Clear.	
,, 28	,,	51	60	64	57		Cloudy.	
,, 29	,,	50	61	63	57		Cloudy.	
,, 30	,,	50	61	65	58		Cloudy	Slight rain in afternoon.
Oct. 1	,,	53	61	64	57		Cloudy	Showery. Rain at night.
,, 2	,,	49	54	59	55		Cloudy	Showery.
,, 3	,,	47	59	65	57		Cloudy.	
,, 4	,,	47	58	66	57		Clear and cloudy.	
,, 5	,,	47	58	66	58			
,, 6	,,	47	57	66	57			
,, 7	,,	47	57	66	56			
,, 8	,,	47	56	64	56		Clear.	
,, 9	,,	47	55	66	57		Clear.	
,, 10	,,	46	56	67	57		Clear.	
,, 11	,,	47	56	66	56		Clear.	
,, 12	,,	47	56	67	56		Clear.	
,, 13	,,	48	55	64	56		Clear.	
,, 14	,,	47	56	66	57		Clear.	
,, 15	,,	46	55	64	56		Clear.	
,, 16	,,	45	55	63	55		Clear.	
,, 17	,,	45	54	61	55		Clear.	
,, 18	,,	45	54	62	56		Clear.	
,, 19	,,	46	56	63	57		Clear.	
,, 20	,,	48	57	64	56		Clear.	
,, 21	,,	47	58	64	56		Clear.	
,, 22	,,	46	57	63	57		Clear.	
,, 23	,,	46	58	64	58		Clear.	
,, 24	,,	46	59	64	58		Clear.	
,, 25	,,	47	60	69	59		Clear.	
,, 26	,,	47	61	68	60		Clear.	
,, 27	,,	47	61	68	60		Clear.	
,, 28	,,	47	59	68	60		Clear.	
,, 29	,,	50	62	70	61		Clear.	
,, 30	,,	50	62	68	58			
,, 31	,,	47	60	68	58			
Nov. 1	,,	46	59	70	58		Clear.	
,, 2	,,	47	61	71	59		Clear.	
,, 3	,,	46	60	70	59		Clear.	
,, 4	,,	45	58	70	59		Clear.	
,, 5	,,	45	58	62	57		Clear.	
,, 6	,,	45	56	70	58			
,, 7	,,	46	57	70	58			
,, 8	,,	47	59	69	57			
,, 9	,,	47	59	70	58			
,, 10	,,	48	60	68	57			
,, 11	,,	43	58	68	57			

Wind south-west. (Sept. 8 – Oct. 1)

Wind north-west. (Oct. 1 – Oct. 8)

Wind N. (Oct. 30 – Nov. 1)

Date.	Place.	Temperature.				Wind.	Wr.	Remarks.
		Sunrise.	9 A.M.	2 P.M.	Sunset.	Direction.		
1867.		Dry.	Dry.	Dry.	Dry.			
Nov. 12	Mágdala	46	59	68	57	Wind N.E.		
,, 13	,,	45	58	65	56			
,, 14	,,	46	57	67	56			
,, 15	,,	45	52	70	55			
,, 16	,,	46	59	69	55			
,, 17	,,	47	59	69	57			
,, 18	,,	48	60	70	57			
,, 19	,,	48	60	62	58		Cloudy.	
,, 20	,,	50	58	59	57		Cloudy.	
,, 21	,,	50	59	62	57			
,, 22	,,	50	56	58	57			
,, 23	,,	50	56	62	57		Clear.	
,, 24	,,	48	56	70	58		Clear.	
,, 25	,,	45	55	67	55		Clear.	
,, 26	,,	46	55	66	55			
,, 27	,,	44	56	68	56			
,, 28	,,	45	59	70	57			
,, 29	,,	48	60	69	56			
,, 30	,,	45	60	67	56			
Dec. 1	,,	47	57	66	55			
,, 2	,,	48	56	67	55	Wind north-east.		
,, 3	,,	45	55	66	54			
,, 4	,,	45	101 sun	114 sun	55			
,, 5	,,	43	100 sun	117 sun	55			
,, 6	,,	44	99 sun	116 sun	54			
,, 7	,,	46	55	67	54			
,, 8	,,	47	58	69	54			
,, 9	,,	48	59	71	55			
,, 10	,,	48	60	72	56			
,, 11	,,	49	60	71	57			
,, 12	,,	48	59	67	55			
,, 13	,,	47	59	66	55			
,, 14	,,	45	58	65	56		Cloudy and clear.	
,, 15	,,	47	59	62	57		Cloudy.	
,, 16	,,	52	59	63	57		Cloudy.	
,, 17	,,	51	61	69	57	Easterly breezes.	Clear.	
,, 18	,,	52	62	71	58			
,, 19	,,	52	63	71	59			
,, 20	,,	52	61	70	58			
,, 21	,,	51	62	70	57			
,, 22	,,	51	62	68	56		Cloudy.	
,, 23	,,	52	59	69	57		Clear.	
,, 24	,,	52	58	70	58			
,, 25	,,	52	58	70	59			
,, 26	,,	53	57	68	57			
,, 27	,,	53	58	66	58		Cloudy.	
,, 28	,,	52	59	65	57		Cloudy.	
,, 29	,,	52	58	69	58		Clear.	
,, 30	,,	52	59	69	59		Clear.	
,, 31	,,	51	60	70	59		Clear.	
1868.								
Jan. 1	,,	51	60	70	59			
,, 2	,,	52	61	70	59	Wind N.E.		
,, 3	,,	51	60	66	57		Cloudy.	
,, 4	,,	51	69	67	57		Cloudy.	
,, 5	,,	47	58	62	53		Cloudy.	
,, 6	,,	58	88	62	53		Cloudy	Rain at night.
,, 7	,,	50	52	62	53		Cloudy	,, ,,
,, 8	,,	50	52	62	54		Cloudy.	
,, 9	,,	50	52	63	54		Cloudy.	
,, 10	,,	50	57	69	56		Clear.	
,, 11	,,	49	60	69	57		Clear.	
,, 12	,,	50	61	69	59			
,, 13	,,	49	61	69	57			
,, 14	,,	47	56	70	58			

Date.	Place.	Temperature				Wind	Wr.	Remarks.
		Sunrise.	9 A.M.	2 P.M.	Sunset.	Direction.		
1868.		Dry.	Dry.	Dry.	Dry.			
Jan. 15	Magdala	48	58	70	58			
,, 16	,,	49	59	70	59			
,, 17	,,	48	60	70	59			
,, 18	,,	45	58	70	57	North-east wind.		
,, 19	,,	46	59	70	58			
,, 20	,,	44	60	70	58			
,, 21	,,	45	60	70	58			
,, 22	,,	41	59	68	59			
,, 23	,,	43	58	69	59			
,, 24	,,	43	58	71	59			
,, 25	,,	46	60	69	59		...	2 P.M. in sun 110.
,, 26	,,	46	60	70	58			
,, 27	,,	44	59	70	57			
,, 28	,,	46	60	69	57			
,, 29	,,	47	59	70	57			
,, 30	,,	46	61	70	58			
,, 31	,,	50	61	70	58			
Feb. 1	,,	52	61	71	59			
,, 2	,,	51	61	71	59			
,, 3	,,	52	61	71	59			
,, 4	,,	51	61	71	59			
,, 5	,,	50	58	68	56		Cloudy.	
,, 6	,,	52	58	68	56			
,, 7	,,	53	57	72	58		Clear.	
,, 8	,,	52	59	71	59			
,, 9	,,	52	59	71	60			
,, 10		51	57	59	60			
,, 11	,,	52	60	70	60		...	Slight rain at night.
,, 12	,,	52	59	72	62		Cloudy	,, ,,
,, 13	,,	54	60	70	58		...	Hailstorm in evening.
,, 14	,,	53	58	68	57			Slight rain at night.
,, 15	,,	51	57	67	60		Cloudy	
,, 16	,,	51	57	67	60		Cloudy	,, ,,
,, 17	,,	51	57	55	60		Cloudy	,, ,,
,, 18	,,	52	56	64	60		Cloudy.	
,, 19	,,	52	56	63	59		Cloudy	Showery and hail.
,, 20	,,	52	56	64	60		Cloudy.	
,, 21	,,	51	57	65	61		Cloudy.	
,, 22	,,	51	57	70	62		Clear.	
,, 23	,,	51	59	73	63		Clear.	
,, 24	,,	52	63	72	61		Clear.	
,, 25	,,	48	60	74	62		...	Slight rain at night.
,, 26	,,	50	63	76	63			
,, 27	,,	51	63	74	63			
,, 28	,,	52	63	74	63			
,, 29	,,	52	61	71	63			
Mar. 1	,,	52	60	73	62			
,, 2	,,	51	60	75	63			
,, 3	,,	52	64	75	63			
,, 4	,,	53	64	74	63			
,, 5	,,	52	63	74	63		Cloudy.	
,, 6	,,	51	62	70	59		Cloudy.	
,, 7	,,	50	60	75	63		Windy.	
,, 8	,,	51	65	75	63		Clear.	
,, 9	,,	50	64	77	62			
,, 10	,,	51	63	76	62			
,, 11	,,	52	65	77	63			
,, 12	,,	52	65	74	62			
,, 13	,,	51	64	76	60			
,, 14	,,	52	63	75	63			
,, 15	,,	51	64	76	61			
,, 16	,,	51	65	76	61			
,, 17	,,	51	64	76	62		Clear.	
,, 18	,,	52	65	75	61			
,, 19	,,	53	68	77	63	Variable.		
,, 20	,,	52	68	77	63			

Date.	Place.	Temperature.				Wind.	Wr.	Remarks.
		Sunrise.	9 A.M.	2 P.M.	Sunset.	Direction.		
1868.		Dry.	Dry.	Dry.	Dry.	Variable.		
Mar. 21	Mágdala	54	68	78	64			
,, 22	,, ...	54	68	78	63			
,, 23	,, ...	53	67	76	62		Clear and cloudy.	
,, 24	,, ...	53	65	70	57		Cloudy	Rain in afternoon.
,, 25	,, ...	51	65	68	78		Cloudy	Rain.
,, 26	,, ...	52	66	70	59		Cloudy.	
,, 27	,, ...	52	66	71	60		Cloudy.	
,, 28	,, ...	52	68	72	62		Clear.	
,, 29	,, ...	52	65	74	63		Cloudy.	
,, 30	,, ...	53	66	78	64		Clear.	
,, 31	,, ...	54	68	80	65		Clear.	
April 1	,, ...	55	68	82	63			
,, 2	,, ...	53	67	81	65			
,, 3	,, ...	53	67	80	65		...	Heavy shower (hail).
,, 4	,, ...	52	65	72	63		Cloudy.	
,, 5	,, ...	50	64	71	63		Cloudy	Rain at night.
,, 6	,, ...	49	63	68	62		Cloudy	,, ,,
,, 7	,, ...	49	61					

INDEX.

INDEX.

A.

ABRAHAH, last Abyssinian ruler in Yaman, 9.
Abreo, two Portuguese brothers, death of, 26.
Abûna Salâmah (*see* Frumentius), not to be a native of the country, 12; Theodore demands the Abûna's return to Gondar, 63; death of the imprisoned Abûna, 125, 126.
Abyssinia, early history of, 1; interest attached to it from the recent march of the English army, *ib.*; the one Christian nation in Africa, 2; its elevated natural position, and origin of the population, *ib.*; invasion of by Muhammedans, 18; who overrun the country, *ib.*; the Negûs David seeks the help of the Portuguese, *ib.* (*see* Portuguese, Jesuits, and Gallas); first European traveller in, after the expulsion of the Jesuits, *ib.*; the English traveller, James Bruce, 42; gloomy opening of the present century for Abyssinia, 43; character of the people at that time, 44, 45; deterioration of character, *ib.*; dress, hair, arms, agriculture, manufacture, &c., *ib.*; marriage of the reigning Negûs with a Galla woman, 46; its effect on the fall of the dynasty, *ib.*; disorders after the death of Râs Michael, and decline of the royal power, 47, 48; first official communication of the English with Abyssinia, 48 (*see* Râs Michael, Râs Selassyè, and Sabagadis); English and other travellers, &c., 57–60 (*see* Theodore).
Abyssinian difficulty, the beginning of, 76.
Abyssinian highlands, 171; the rainy season, *ib.*; interesting character of that part of the country traversed by the English force, *ib.*; three distinct regions, 172; the plateaux, 172, 173; grandeur and beauty of the valleys, 174–177; ravines and river-beds, 177, 178.
Acunha, Manuel de, 21, 25, 27.
Adigerat, 199; market of, 220; importance as a station, 229, 230; headquarters at, 261.
Adulis, the gate of Abyssinia, 4; abandoned for Massowa, a less convenient anchorage, 16; ruins of, 155.
Æizanas, King of Axum, 4.
Akbar Ali, interpreter, 222; mission to the Gallas, 311, 369.
Akhfessee, village of, 192.
Alaji, Amba, 241.
Almeyda, Father Manuel de, travels and work on, 36.
Alvarez, Father Francisco, member of the Portuguese early mission to Abyssinia, 16, 17; his work, 17, *note*; his route, 234, 242, *note*, 254.
Antâlo, 238, 239 (*see* Buya).
Arabia, invasion of, by the Abyssinian King Caleb, 7.
Aragâwi, Abyssinian saint, 6; youngest son of Sabagadis, 53, 229, 364.
Arogyè, 116, 320–323.
Artillery, arrival of, in Annesley Bay, 218, 219; at Mágdala, 344; Theodore's, 367.
Ashangi, camp at, 273.
Ashangi, Lake, 247, 248.
Atala valley, 242, 270.
Athanasius (*see* Frumentius).
Axum, 8, 9, 17, 30.
Ayto Dargi, 364.
Ayto Samuel, 77; he accompanies

Consul Cameron, 77; his influence with Theodore, 91; meets Mr. Rassam's mission, 97; conducts it to Theodore, 97, 98; accompanies Mr. Rassam, 100; takes part in a trial, 111; conducts the prisoners to Mágdala, 117; a native of Senafé, 190; informs Theodore of the contents of Sir R. Napier's letter, 308 (*see* Theodore's letter, 338); report to Theodore, 339.
Azebo Gallas, 40, 245, 379.

B.

Badger, Rev. George P. 9 *note*, 134.
Bahar-Nagâsh, Abyssinian Lord of the Sea, 16, 21; end of the office, save as a mere name, 32.
Balgada Araya, 68, 364.
Baraka, church of, 195.
Bardel, a discharged French servant of Captain Cameron's, 75; sent with a letter to the French Emperor, 77; returns to announce that he was not considered a fit person to be received, 80; a prisoner, 103, 107; betrays the German workmen in their attempt to escape, 292.
Barreto, Nunez de, patriarch, dies at Goa, 32.
Beke, Dr. his account of the origin of the Wakshûms, 11, 12 *note*; his travels, 58; presents a letter from the relatives of the captives, 107; sent out to attempt the release of the captives, 130, 131.
Bell, Mr. (*see* Plowden), settled in Abyssinia, 66 (*see* Theodore); death of Bell, and how Theodore avenged it, 71; Mr. Bell's daughters, 75, 340, 341.
Bello, Francisco, 21, 23, 27.
Bermudez, Joao, Portuguese secretary of the mission to Abyssinia, 16, 17; made bishop or Abûna, 18; lands with Da Gama's expedition, 20; his flight with the Queen, 27–29; escapes from the country, 31; his narrative, 32, *note*.
Beshilo ravine, descent of, by the English force, 316, 317; crossing the river, 318; recrossing it homeward, 372.
Bêt-hor, 295, 309.
Birds on the English line of march, 183–188.
Birou Goshu, 63; defeated by Theodore, 64; released from prison in Mágdala after Theodore's death, 363, 384.
Blanc, Dr. (*see* Prideaux and Rassam, mission of the latter).
Blumhardt (*see* Krapf).
Book of Kings, Abyssinian, from the time of the Queen of Sheba, 3.
Bray, Colonel, 379.
Bruce, James, traveller in Abyssinia, 42; his account of Râs Michael, &c. 46.
Buya camp, near Antâlo, 259, 268.

C.

Caldeira, Alfonso de, commands the Portuguese on death of Da Gama, 29.
Caleb, great King of Abyssinia, 7–10.
Cameron, Captain, appointed consul, 73; directed to consider Massowa his head-quarters, *ib.*; to avoid taking part in any of the partisan affairs of the country, *ib.*; ordered also to visit the camp of Theodore, 74; received by Theodore, *ib.* (*see* Theodore from p. 74); despatched with a letter to the Queen, 76; stops at Bogos, 78; and presses Christian claims on the Egyptian authorities, *ib.*; is taken ill and returns to Abyssinia, 79; his arrest, 82; and imprisonment, 103, 106, 107, 109, 111, 112; release, 335.
Campbell, Colonel, 375.
Captives, the (*see* Prideaux, Rassam, Theodore, Flad, Bardel, Rosenthal, and Ayto Samuel).
Chamberlain, Major, 303, 321, 373.
Chelicut, residence of Râs Walda Selassyè, 48, 51; its picturesque situation, 237, 238; Theodore's queen buried at, 380.
Cholera in Theodore's army, 109, 110.
Churches, Abyssinian, 193; a Tigré parish church, 194; the church of Baraka, its picturesque appearance, 195; the bones of St. Romanos, 196; church at Goona-goona, 197, 198; church cut out of solid rock, 234, 235; an ancient church, 233; church of Chelicut, 238; at Antâlo, 239; church at Mágdala, 357.
Claudius Negûs, takes refuge in Shoa, 18, 22; joins the Portuguese, 29, 30.
Coffin (*see* Pearce), is sent on a mission to England after the death of Pearce, 55.
Coghlan, Sir William, his plan for the Expedition, 134.
Coin and currency of the country, 202 and 268.
Collings, Brigadier, 166, 258, 375.

Cosmas Indicopleustes, light thrown by him on early Abyssinian history, 7, 8.
Covilham and Payva (*see* Portuguese).

D.

Dadjazmatsh, meaning of title, 44.
Dalanta plateau, description of, 284, 285; a night of storm on, 310.
Darrah, Captain, 374.
David, Negûs, sends an embassy to Portugal, 15; takes refuge and dies, 18.
Debra Damo, 6, 18, 21, 29, 177.
Debra Tabor, Theodore's great army at, 72; number of Europeans at, 75; Theodore's march to, 110; Theodore and the English force both marching for, 127; burned by Theodore, 292.
Degouta pass, the, 161.
Devil's Staircase, the, 161 and 163.
Dildi, 250, 251; the march to, 277.
Disraeli, Mr. his figure of speech with reference to the Expedition (*see* Amba Sheshen).
Dobâ, the great valley of, 244.
Dolo, 237, 287.
Dongolo, the desert of, 233.
Dufton, Mr. 80; murder of, 385.

E.

Edesius (*see* Frumentius).
Edye, Captain, 146.
Europeans in Abyssinia, 55–58, 75; missionaries, workmen, travellers, &c. *ib.*; a complete colony, 76.
Expedition, the, decided on, 139; the first camp, 144; opening up a route for supplies, 144, 145; arrival of the advance brigade, 146; condensing water for the troops and cattle, *ib.*; on old tracks, 155, 156; epidemic among the animals, 163; details of the British force, 204, 206; the force of Theodore, 206; English force on the plateau, *ib.*; a grand storm, 313; the morning of action, *ib.*; position of Theodore at this time, 314; what the Expedition might have had to face if it had attacked him in the plenitude of his power, 315; responsibility of the conquerors of Mágdala, 359; preparations for returning home, 372; a death in camp, *ib.*; the force recrosses the Beshilo, *ib.*; sale of the plunder, 373; duties and work of that part of the force not engaged before Mágdala, 373; railways, roads, &c. 373–375; the native cavalry, 375, 376; popularity of the force, 377; the return march, 378; commercial enterprise in front of Mágdala, *ib.*; reappearance of rum in camp, *ib.*; murder of Mr. Dufton, 385, 386; embarkation of the troops, 386, 387; rewards to the officers of the Expedition, 388; what the Expedition effected, and what it might have effected, 389–391.

F.

Fâris, Ali, 363.
Fasilidas, Negûs, expels Jesuits, 37; founds Gondar, 41.
Ferrah, Amba, 243.
Field, Colonel, 146, 268, 275, 304, 343.
Flad, Mr. selected to convey to England Theodore's demand for European artisans, 108; return of, with the Queen's reply, 124; his report to Theodore, 290, 291; sent to the English camp, 326, 327, 335.
Fonseca, Juan de, 25.
French, in Abyssinia, 69; support a grandson of Dadjatsh Oobyé against Theodore, *ib.*; the intrigue at an end, *ib.*; Consul, arrives, 79; attempts to force his way into the King's presence and is imprisoned, 80 (*see* Bardel).
Frumentius and Edesius, seized by the Abyssinians, 5; rise of Frumentius to honour, *ib.*; visits Athanasius, and is made first Abûna (bishop) of Abyssinia, *ib.*; establishes one of the oldest churches in the world, 6.

G.

Gallas, their invasion of Abyssinia from the south, 39; its effect on the country, 40; origin of the Galla tribes a mystery, *ib.*; the fierceness of their inroads, *ib.*; cut their way like a wedge into the centre of Abyssinia, *ib.*; their fierce character, *ib.*; one portion become Muhammedans soon after they begin their conquest, the other portion remaining heathen, 41; long wars with the Abyssinians, *ib.*; annual wars, 42; a Galla woman married to the reigning Negûs, 46; victory over Sabagadis, 54; march to Adowa, but return again, *ib.*; end of the Yadjow Galla dynasty, 63 (*see* Theodore from p. 67); Azebo

Gallas, 245, 246 (*see* Mágdala, p. 274); the Galla Queens, 368, 369; Mágdala taken possession of by Queen Mastwât, but recaptured by Menilek, 370; Galla thieves, *ib.* (*see* Azebo, Wallo, Yadjow).
Gama, Cristoforo da, commander of the Portuguese expedition, 20; his heroism and daring, 22, 26; his defeat and death, 27, 28.
Gama, Estévan da, viceroy, 19.
Gebriyé, Fitaurari (Theodore's gallant general), his courage and death, 321; his body on the battle-field, 328; his high character, *ib.*
Genfel, the river, 235.
Geshen, Amba, or Amara, the most renowned mountain in Abyssinia, 288; prison of the princes of the blood, *ib.*; its description by Purchas, 289; the probable origin of Milton's lines, *ib.*; Dr. Johnson's beautiful valley in Rasselas, *ib.*; Mr. Disraeli's figure of speech with reference to the Expedition, *ib.*; after Theodore's death, 371.
Gobat, Bishop, in Abyssinia, 56.
Godjam, chief of, defeated by Theodore, 63, 64.
Gondar, foundation of, 41; occupied by Theodore, 63.
Goodfellow, Captain, director of the works at Mulkutto, 143, 312.
Goona-goona, 197.
Grant, Major (the companion of Speke), in the Intelligence Department, 225; proceeds to Adowa with M. Munzinger, *ib.*; his mission and its results, 226–228; sent back to push forward provisions, 304.
Graves, Colonel, in command of cavalry, 317; colonel of the 3d Bombay Cavalry, 376.

H.

Hand, Captain, his management of the Highland Transport Service, 212, 379.
Harat, the, range of mountains, 231.
Hassané, Bitwaddad, Governor of Magdala, 362.
Hatsé, Yohannes, legitimate Emperor of Abyssinia, 364.
Helena, Regent, 15.
Highland Transport Service, 379; its gradual improvement, *ib.*; fate of the mules, *ib.* (*see* also Transport Service).

I.

Inscriptions, two, the key to early history, 3.
Interpreters, 221, 222.
Isenberg (*see* Krapf).

J.

Jacobis, Father de, 57, 63, 69.
Jesuits, Portuguese, in Abyssinia, 30; their mission station at Fremona, near Adowa, *ib.*; their work as linguists and historians, 31; unsuccessful as missionaries, *ib.*; the people prefer a Coptic to a Romish Abûna, *ib.*; Nunez de Barreto, chief of the Jesuits, 32; arrival of Father Paez, *ib.*; rebellion against, 33; influence of Paez, 35; his death, *ib.*; fresh arrivals of Jesuits, 36, 37; number of Jesuit churches, 37; destruction of their power, *ib.*; are mercilessly handed over to the Turks, *ib.*
John, Prester, Portuguese embassy in search of, 13.
Johnson, Dr. Samuel, his translation of Lobo, 38 *note*, 145; his beautiful valley in Rasselas (*see* Amba Geshen).

K.

Kâsa, name of Theodore, 60.
Kâsa, son of Sabagadis (*see* Sabagadis).
Kâsa, Dadjatsh, his early history, 86, 87; his rapid rise to power, 87; rebels, and is successful, *ib.*; his letter to Colonel Merewether, 165, 166; feast on his accession, 225; Major Grant's opinion of, 227; unwise policy and its results, 228; Sir R. Napier's interviews with, 263, 381.
Kennedy, Colonel Clark, 147.
Krapf, Dr. a missionary (with Isenberg and Blumhardt) in Abyssinia, 56; adventurous journey of, 58; again in the country, 75; joins the Expedition, 222.
Kuarâta, English mission arrives at, 100; Theodore's march to, 109.

L.

Lalibela, King, his attempts to destroy the fertility of Egypt, 10; rock-hewn churches made by, *ib.* 234.
Lât Valley, 249; trees and foliage, &c. of, 249, 250.
Lejean, M. French Consul, 79, 80.
Le Mesurier, Lieutenant, in charge of pumps, 219.
Leon Pedro, a Portuguese, kills the Moslem General, 29.
Lima, Rodriquez de, his mission, 16.

Little, Colonel, 375.
Lobo, Father, his journey, 36; his narrative, 38, *note.*
Lockhart, Lieutenant, aide-de-camp to General Merewether, 221.
Lumsdaine, Dr. 144; his examination of the body of Theodore, 360.

M.

MÁGDALA, first selected by Theodore, 68; climate, life at, &c. of the English mission, 115–127; the march to, commenced, 269; topography of, 286 (*see* Theodore, from p. 290 to p. 359); description of, 354; dwellings of the English prisoners, 355; the King's house, 356, 357; the church, 357; relics, 358; pillage, 358, 359; extent and population of, 359; the fugitives from, 365; a horrible scene of war, *ib.*; the question of Mágdala, 366; refused by Dadjatsh Gobazyé, *ib.*; destruction of Mágdala, 367, 368.
Makhan, camp at, 271.
Malcolm, General, commanding the troops on the highlands, 376.
Mammalia of the country, 188–191.
Markets, Abyssinian, 193; market of Adigerat, 202.
Mashesha, Agafari, in charge of Theodore's presents, 341; faithful to the King, 348.
Mashesha, Dadjatsh, visits Sir R. Napier, 301, 302; offered Mágdala, 366; taken prisoner, 371.
Mashesha, Râs, Theodore's son, 333; leaves Mágdala, 370; acquiring power, 390, *note.*
Massacre, Theodore's great, 299, 300; scene of, 360.
Massajah, Father, Vicar Apostolic of Kaffa, 134.
Massowa, becomes the gate of Abyssinia, 15; meaning of name, *ib. note;* Portuguese land there, 19 (*see* Cameron); permanent occupation of by the Turks, 32; Mr. Rassam arrives at, 90; Colonel Merewether at, 130, 131; examined for port of debarkation, 136, 141.
Matamma, arrival of the English mission at, 92; description of the town, &c. 93, 94.
Mendez, Alonzo de, patriarch, 36, 37; his narrative, 38, *note.*
Menilek, heir of Shoa, his escape from Mágdala, 84; becomes King of Shoa, 85; friendly relations with the English, 166.
Menilek, son of Solomon, tradition respecting, 3, 248, 249.
Mercha, Warké, envoy from Kâsa, 165, 222, 382.
Merewether, Colonel, political resident at Aden, takes charge of Abyssinian affairs, 88; sends seeds to the prisoners, 122; account of Colonel Merewether's previous services, 129, 130; his work from the time Mr. Rassam landed at Massowa, 113; recommends that the prisoners should be formally demanded, and prompt measures taken for their release, 132, 133; makes himself acquainted with the country, 134; recommends a force of about 6,000 men, *ib.*; selection of the port for debarkation, 136–139; too young to command the Expedition, 139, *note;* appointed to command a reconnoitring force, 140; selects Annesley Bay for the port of debarkation, 141; his reconnaissance along the coast, 144; his arrangements with Shoans, 153; explores the passes, 155–162; leads the advanced brigade to Senafé, 164; his negotiations, 165; results of his work, 168, 203; his policy, 221, 258, 267; his arrangements at Mágdala, 360.
Messengers, native, faithfulness of, 223.
Milward, Colonel, 321.
Monks, a great company of, enter Abyssinia, 6 (*see* also Jesuits).
Moore, Captain, his assistance as a linguist, 222, 223, 304.
Morgan, Lieut. officer of Engineers, in charge of signals, 219; death of, 372.
Muhammed Gragn, the great Muhammedan general in Abyssinia, 18; his victories, *ib.* (*see* Portuguese); his triumph over Da Gama, 28; his death, 29.
Muhammedans, their conquest of Egypt, 10; invasion of Abyssinia, 18.
Mules, purchase of, 147; mules an muleteers, 149, 150, 211–216.
Mulkutto, port of the Expedition, 141; works at, 143; railway, 374.
Munzinger, M. 131; selected as an assistant by Col. Merewether, 132; his adventurous journey, 138; his services as interpreter, 221; his mission to Adowa, 225; to the Wakshûm, 265; his recommendation of route to Mágdala, 305; buys grain in Dalanta, 309, 310.
Murray, Captain, 166.
Muter, Colonel, 374.

N.

NAAKWETO LAAB, an ancient king, 11.
Napier, Sir Robert, his report of the force he deemed necessary for the Expedition, 140; appointed Commander-in-Chief, *ib.*; arrival at Mulkutto, 147; two courses open to, 206; reasons in favour of the more speedy one, 207; reasons for selecting the contrary one, 207–209; opinion of in favour of, storing provision at Senafé, 209, 260, 261; interview with Kâsa, 262–264; on the Wadela plateau, 301; receives Dadjatsh Mashesha, *ib.*; first communication with Theodore, 309; requests the Gallas to watch for Theodore's escape, 311 (*see* Theodore, from p. 326); letter to the King, 327; orders Lieut. Prideaux to go back to the King, 335; his reply to Theodore's offer of a present, 339; bombards Mágdala, 344; takes charge of Theodore's son, 380; seeks an interview with Wakshûm Gobazyé, 383; leaves Abyssinian territory, 384; rewards, &c. 388.
Naval Brigade, the, 218, 303; their fraternization with the Musby Sikhs, *ib.*; their rocket practice, 320, 322.
Negûsyè, Agow, his rebellion in Tigré, 69; defeat and death, 70.

O.

OOBYÉ, Dadjatsh, 53; ruler of Tigré, 55; defeated by Theodore, 64, 66 *note;* Theodore marries his daughter, 72.
Otago saddle, 213.

P.

PAEZ, FRANCISCO, Father, his arrival at Fremona, 32; his death, 35.
Parkyns, Mr. Mansfield, 57.
Pearce, a young English sailor, left in Abyssinia (1804), 48; his audacious courage, *ib.*; and generosity, 49; Pearce and his friend Coffin accompany the Râs on an expedition, 50; traverse the very ground afterwards taken by the English expedition, *ib.*; death of Pearce, 51; Coffin remains in Abyssinia, 52; the place where he had dinner with old Râs Walda Selassyè, 241.
Penn, Colonel, 258.
Phayre, Colonel, associated with Colonel Merewether on the reconnoitring committee, 140, 144, 156; commands the pioneer force, 256; his preparations for the march, 257–259 (*see* Mágdala); his report to Sir Charles Staveley in front of Mágdala, 318, 319.
Pierce, Major, 163.
Plants on the English line of march, 182; a giant lobelia, 252.
Plowden, Mr. Walter (and Mr. Bell), 57; conveys presents to the Queen of England, 59; is made English Consul in Abyssinia, *ib.*; arrives at Debra Tabor, *ib.*; treaty with Râs Ali, *ib.*; friend of Theodore, 66 (*see* Theodore); his death and character, 70, 71.
Poncet, Dr. visits Abyssinia, 41, 42.
Portuguese, the beginning of their enterprise in Abyssinia, 13; embassy of Covilham in search of Prester John, 13, 14; Covilham, the surviving member of the embassy, remains in Abyssinia, *ib.*; fleet of, in the Red Sea, 15, 16; embassy from, to the Negûs, 16; their help sought by the Negûs David, 18; a Portuguese expedition, 19; in what way it resembled and differed from the English expedition, 19, 20; the expedition leaving Massowa, 20; the route taken, 21; meeting of, with the Queen, 22; heroic battles of the Portuguese, 23; defeat of the Moslems, 24; daring of Da Gama, 25; his last battle, *ib.*; is mortally wounded, 27; and brutally treated by the foe, 28; his death, *ib.*; settlement of Portuguese in Tigré, 30; their descendants, *ib.*; long connexion with Abyssinia, 38, 39; tradition respecting their descendants, 242.
Prideaux, Lieutenant, his account of the mission and captivity of Mr. Rassam, &c. 90 (*see* Rassam); at the foundries, &c. of the European artisans, 111; brought to a political trial, *ib.*; complaints against the mission, 111, 112; the first bitterness of real captivity, *ib.*; visit of the King to his "friends," *ib.*; an expedition, 114; its unaccountable termination, *ib.*; the prisoners sent to Mágdala, 115; arrival there, 117; chained, *ib.*; beginning to be more comfortable, 118; send intelligence of the state of affairs home, 119; choice of messengers, *ib.*; failure of the first, 120; faithfulness and success of the others, *ib.*;

creature comforts, 120, 121 ; climate, life at, &c. 121, 122; sole hope in a declaration of war by the English Government, *ib.* ; receive intelligence of the landing of Colonel Merewether and his pioneers in Annesley Bay, 126 ; irons taken off, 298 ; Prideaux despatched to the English General with Mr. Flad, 362 ; reception in the camp, *ib.*; sent back to Theodore, 327 ; ordered to return a second time to Theodore, 335.
Ptolemy Euergetes, his reduction to subjection of the province of Tigré, 4.
Pumps, well-sinkers, &c. of the Expedition, 219.

R.

Ragolay, the, river, 145.
Railway, on the coast plain, 219, 374.
Rassam, Mr. sent with a reply to Theodore's letters, 88, 89 ; his letter to Theodore, 91 ; refers the matter home for instructions, 92 ; proceeds to meet the King, 95–97 ; presents from Theodore to, 98 ; the Queen's presents to Theodore, 99 ; departure to the place appointed for the residence of the mission, 100; the captives given up to, 103 ; a pleasant month, 104; preparations for departure, 105 ; the mission apprehended, 105, 106 ; the King's demand to Mr. Rassam for European artisans, 108 ; the demand transmitted by Mr. Rassam to England, 109 (*see* Prideaux); his irons removed, 298 ; interview with the King, *ib.*; receives proposals for peace from Theodore, 325 ; released, 335 ; instructs Sir R. Napier's messenger to tell the King that his present is accepted, 339 ; his house at Mágdala, 356 ; protects the Queen from outrage, 361.
Râs Ali, 54, 59, 62.
Râs Guksa, 46, 47, 49.
Râs Maryè, 53, 54.
Râs Mashesha (*see* Mashesha).
Râs Michael of Tigré, the *de facto* sovereign, 42 ; cause of his influence, 46 ; Bruce's account of, *ib.*; his death at Adowa, *ib.*; death of his son, *ib.*
Râs Sela Cristos, becomes a Christian, 33 ; Dr. Johnson's name of Rasselas derived from, 289.
Râs Walda Selassyè, ruler of Tigré, 47 ; mission of the English to, 48 ; his death, 51.
Regiment, the 33d, its work, 272, 273; ordered to the rear, 278.
Roberts, Captain, wounded at Arogyè, 321.
Rosenthal, Mr. and Mrs. (*see* Theodore); Mrs. Rosenthal permitted to join her husband, 296 ; in Theodore's power at a critical time, 334.

S.

Sabagadis of Agamé, contends with the son of Râs Walda Selassyè for power in Tigré, 51 ; his character and doings, 52, 53 ; his seven warlike sons, 53 ; defeated, and Sabagadis slain, 54 ; deeds of his sons, 55 (*see* Oobyé) ; palace of, 200.
Sabhat, son of Sabagadis, 201.
Saddle, the Otago, 213 ; Mr. Gregory's, *ib.*
Sahela Selassyè, King of Shoa, 55, 57.
Salt, Mr. embassy to Abyssinia, 48 ; his opinion of young Sabagadis, 52.
Salt plain, the great, 145.
Santara, camp at, 303.
Saxe Coburg, Duke of, at Massowa, 74.
Senafé, an ancient battle-field, 28 ; appearance of the pass, 156, 157 ; trees, foliage, &c. 158–161 ; advanced brigade at, 164 ; village of, 190–192 ; on the way home, 381.
Shewell, Lieut. commissariat officer, 193, 219, 260, 305, 310.
Shohos, the first natives the invading force came in contact with, 150–153 ; the last experience the force has of them, 385.
Speedy, Mr. in charge at Massowa, 88 ; engaged as an interpreter, 222 ; sent to buy grain in Dâunt, 310.
Stanley, Lord, final letter of, to Theodore, 133.
Staveley, Sir Charles, appointed second in command of the Expedition, 140 ; arrival at Mulkutto, 167 ; leads the 1st Brigade, 316 ; commands at the action of Arogyè, 316, 319, 320.
Stern (*see* Theodore, from p. 80).
Stewart, Brigadier, commanding the garrison at Senafé, 375.
St. John, Lieut. in charge of electric telegraph, 219, 376.
St. Romanos, his bones, 196.
Susneos, Negûs, 33, 34.

T.

Takkazyè, from Adigerat to, 231–252 ; sources of, 253, 254.
Tawâbetch, wife of Theodore, 62, 78.

Tekla Haimanot, the greatest of Abyssinian saints, 11; his successful attempt to make a treaty between the old and new dynasties, *ib.*; extraordinary provisions of, 11, 12, 14.
Telegraphs, 219.
Terunesh, wife of Theodore, 72; insulted by the English soldiers, 361, 362; her death, 380; her son brought to England, *ib.*
Theodore, his first appearance on the scene, &c. 60; his parentage, &c. *ib.*; his name, Kâsa, *ib.*; poverty of his mother, *ib.*; Kâsa sent to a convent, 61; which is attacked, *ib.*; the boy flies to his native province and becomes a soldier of fortune, *ib.*; his bravery and intelligence, *ib.*; becomes a leader, and defeats the mother of Râs Ali, *ib.*; obtains the sovereignty, under her, of Dembea, and the hand of the old chief's daughter, "the beautiful Tawâbetch," *ib.*; her character, and influence over her husband, 62; Kâsa occupies Gondar, *ib.*; defeats Râs Ali, *ib.*; who escapes, *ib.*; Kâsa in undisputed possession, *ib.*; demands tribute from Oobyé, and the return of the Abûna to Gondar, *ib.*; his astute policy, *ib.*; defeats Birou Goshu, the chief of Godjam, 64; defeats and captures Oobyé, *ib.*; takes the name of Theodore, and is crowned King of the Kings of Ethiopia, *ib.*; his character, appearance, age, &c., 65; his first acts of sovereignty noble, 66, 67; his friendship for Plowden and Bell, *ib.*; his hot zeal for Christianity, 67; determines to expel the Gallas from Abyssinia, *ib.*; defeats the Walla Gallas, 68; selects a fortress (Mágdala) over the Beshilo river, and in the Galla country, 68; victorious in Shoa, *ib.*; Consul Plowden taken prisoner, and mortally wounded, is redeemed by Theodore, 70; who avenges his death, 70, 71; death of Mr. Bell, 71; Theodore avenges it by making a ghastly heap of slain, *ib.*; puts down the insurrection in Tigré, 71; his cruelty, *ib.*; Kâsa, son of Sabagadis, made by him governor of Tigré, and his daughter becomes the King's concubine (Tawâbetch being dead), 72; Theodore at the height of his power, *ib.*; an army of 150,000 men with him at Debra Tabor, *ib.*; marries his second wife, "the proud Tserunesh," daughter of Dadjatsh Oobyé, *ib.*; her contempt for him and his origin, 72, 73; evil counsels, and alteration of Theodore's character, 73; his reception of Consul Cameron, 74; his European missionaries and workmen at Debra Tabor, &c. 75; Consul Cameron dismissed by him with a letter to be forwarded to the Queen of England, 76 (*see* Bardel); irritation of Theodore on Consul Cameron's return, 80; his anger falls on the missionaries, *ib.*; seizure of papers containing disparaging remarks with respect to the King, 81; the men tried and imprisoned, *ib.*; arrival of the reply to Consul Cameron's despatch, *ib.*; rage of Theodore on finding that it is only an order to the Consul to return to Massowa, *ib.*; extenuating circumstances with respect to Theodore's after proceedings, 81–83; his march to Mágdala the same year, 83, 84; escape from Mágdala of young Menilek, heir of Shoa, 84; Theodore watches through a glass the young fugitive's reception by the Gallas, *ib.*; and then massacres all his Galla prisoners, *ib.*; change of character, &c. *ib.*; a host of powerful enemies hemming him round, 85, 86; rebellion of Dadjatsh Kâsa, 87, 88; Theodore's position, 88 (*see* Prideaux and Rassam); nature of Theodore's difficult and resolute march to *Mágdala, 290; Mr. Flad's report to him of the decision of the English* Government, *ib.*; his proud defiance, 291; devastates the one region that had always been faithful to him, *ib.*; retaliation of the people, *ib.*; provisions fail, *ib.*; begins his hazardous and difficult march, 292; burns his capital, Debra Tabor, *ib.*; real beginning of his downfall, *ib.*; his pride and tyranny, 293; his genius and real kingship, *ib.*; his better qualities reappearing in his fall, *ib.*; his remarkable march, 293, 294; supposed first intelligence of the English force being in the country, 294; watched at a respectful distance by the rebel Wakshûm Gobazyé, 295; the Jidda ravine, *ib.*; Theodore's engineering, 295, 296; the prisoners sent to Mágdala, 296; on the Dalanta plateau, 297; his opinion of the approaching English army, *ib.*; his wish to see a disciplined European force, *ib.*; crosses the Beshilo, *ib.*; reaches Arogyè, 298; Mr. Rassam's irons removed, *ib.*; camp at Islamgyè, *ib.*; interview of Mr. Rassam with Theo-

dore, 298; invites the English mission to see the great mortar brought up to Islamgyè, *ib.*; Theodore's conversation, *ib.*; his camp, *ib.*; massacre of prisoners, 299, 300; after which Theodore prays God to pardon him, 300; watching for the English force, *ib.*; the composition of his own army, 301; his feelings and hopes, *ib.*; the news on Good Friday, 323; his hope of cutting off the advance party, *ib.*; bursting of the great gun Teodôros, 324; inciting his men to battle, *ib.*; his doubts, *ib.*; watching his troops, 325; narrow escape, *ib.*; the shades of evening falling on him and his broken army, *ib.*; calls for his dead generals, *ib.*; his despair, *ib.*; proposes peace to Mr. Rassam, *ib.*; messengers to the Commander-in-Chief, 326; receives Sir R. Napier's reply, 327 (*see* Gebriyé); the message translated to, 328; his final manifesto, 329-331; his conduct after the departure of the messengers, 331; attempts self-murder, 332; settlement of his affairs, *ib.*; his past life, *ib.*; interview with his wife, *ib.*; a council of chiefs, 333; suggestions, *ib.*; releases English captives, 334; letter from, to the Commander-in-Chief, 337; Sir R. Napier's reply, 338; a serious misapprehension, 339; Ayto Samuel's report to Theodore, *ib.*; the King's relief and belief in peace, 340; his present to the English general, *ib.*; the whole of the captives, and all they possessed, surrendered, 341; the present refused, 342; a night of despair, *ib.*; address to his people, *ib.*; attempts to escape, but returns, and gives his army the choice of remaining with him or going away, 342, 343; a spot on the sun, 343; rumour in the English camp of his escape, *ib.*; a reward offered for his capture, *ib.*; people leaving the doomed city, 343, 344; discovery that Theodore is still in the city, which is cannonaded, 344, 345; women killed, 345; the storming party, *ib.*; the Koket-bir (gate of Mágdala) opened, 345, 346; where was the enemy? 346; the Union Jack hoisted, *ib.*; the last few hours of Theodore's life, 347; his faithful friends, 347, 348; death of several, 349; Theodore waiting for the stormers, *ib.*; his dress, &c., *ib.*; his friends falling around him, 350; fresh deserters, *ib.*; his faithful few, *ib.*; his defence to the last, 351; releases his followers from their allegiance, *ib.*; his death, 352; entry of Sir Charles Staveley to Mágdala, *ib.*; identification of the body of Theodore, *ib.*; his character, 353 (*see* Mágdala, 359, and Expedition).

Tigrè-Mahon, title, 24, 29.

Transport Service, arrivals in Annesley Bay, 147, 150; organization of the train, 216-218 (*see* also Highland Transport Service).

W.

WADELA plateau, first view of, 254; reached, 282, 283; description of, *ib.*; scenery, 283, 284.

Wadjerât mountains, the, 240.

Wag, province, granted to a usurping dynasty, 11; tradition, 11, 12, *note*, 85.

Wakshûm Comfu, 50, 85.

Wakshûm Gabra Medhin, 85.

Wakshûm Gobazyé, his rebellion, 85; his good feeling towards the Expedition, 166; his territory, 274; watches Theodore, but dares not to approach him, 295; refuses Mágdala, 366; his policy after Theodore's death, 382; his former dread of Theodore the common dread of all neighbouring chiefs, *ib.*; his probable future, 383-385.

Wakshûm Teferrî, 85, 364.

Wakshûm Wassan, 85.

Walda Yasûs, 263, 271, 377.

Wallo Gallas, 41, *note*, 49, 68, 310, 368-370.

Wandaj pass, 251, 252.

Warden, Major, 211.

Warkit, Queen of the Wallo Gallas (which see).

Willoughby, Captain, 147.

Wilson, Dr., of Bombay, 165.

Y.

YAJOW Gallas, 41; dynasty 46, 47, 49, 53, 54, 59, 62, 63, 85, 371.

Yaman, conquest of, by King Caleb, 8; last Abyssinian ruler of, defeated before the gates of Mecca, 9.

Yasendyé, alarm at, 306; troops start from, 309; fugitives from Mágdala encamped there, 365.

Yekweno, Amlak, an ancient king, restored to the throne, 11, 288, *note*.

ZAGÊ, five weeks at, 108.
Zaguê, dynasty of, 10, 11.
Zobul, the mysterious land of, 248, 249; tradition respecting the son of Solomon, *ib.*

APPENDICES.

Appendix A: Altitude of places in Abyssinia, fixed by Mr. Markham, 395.
Appendix B: Meteorological Observations in Abyssinia, 397.
Appendix C: Thermometrical Observations in Abyssinia, 405.

THE END.

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